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Central Eurasia

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FBIS-SOV-96-040 *28 February 1996*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: An * indicates material not previously disseminated in electronic form.

CHECHEN AFFAIRS

Political Reaction

Russia: Yeltsin Accepts Responsibility for Chechen Mistakes *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Russia: Yeltsin Aide, General on Chechnya Settlement *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 28 Feb]* 1
Russia: Govorukhin on Chechnya Commission Findings *[PRAVDA 27 Feb]* 2
Russia: General Kvashnin Gives News Conference on Chechnya *[Moscow Radio]* 4
Russia: Intelligence Aide on Dudayev Tactics, Objectives *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 27 Feb]* 4

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

CIS: ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 28 Feb 6
CIS: Problems Facing Integration Efforts Viewed *[FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA 20 Feb]* 6

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Russia: Russia Officially Joins Council of Europe *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Russia: Primakov in Strasbourg for CE Admission Ceremony *[ITAR-TASS]* 8
Russia: IMF Loan Seen as Funding Yeltsin's Election Campaign *[PRAVDA 28 Feb]* 8
Russia: Ministry 'Concerned' Over Downing of American Planes *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
Russia: U.S. Cuba Moves 'Fairly Restrained'; Russia Stalling *[IZVESTIYA 28 Feb]* 10
Russia: Zhirinovskiy Sends 'Harsh Letter' to Buchanan *[INTERFAX]* 10
Russia: Ban on U.S. Chicken Import Seen as Protectionism *[SEGODNYA 27 Feb]* 10
Russia: Kalugin's Memoirs Said To Prompt FBI Search for NSA Spy *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 27 Feb]* 11
Russia: U.S. Seen Challenging Russian Missile Sale to ROK *[IZVESTIYA 24 Feb]* 12
Russia: Japanese Move on Control of Straits Noted *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Feb]* 12
Russia: Yeltsin Cites Need To Strengthen Integration With Belarus *[INTERFAX]* 13
Russia: Belarus Gives Russia Warheads; Debt Forgiven *[INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY]* 13

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political Issues

Russia: Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Chechnya, Debt Issues *[ITAR-TASS]* 14
Russia: Shumeyko Warns on Zyuganov, Zhirinovskiy Poll Victory *[INTERFAX]* 14
Russia: Yeltsin Message 'Reeks of Electioneering' *[PRAVDA 28 Feb]* 14
Russia: Yeltsin: Optimism on Democratic Support, Concern Over Cuba *[INTERFAX]* 15
Russia: Yeltsin's Campaigning Advantages Assessed *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 24 Feb]* 16
Russia: Former KGB Official Views Intelligence Activity *[Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 24 Feb]* 18
Russia: Baburin Urges 'Broad' Coalition of Parties *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 14 Feb]* 20
Russia: CPRF Faction Legislative Initiatives *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 Feb]* 22

Federal Assembly

Russia: Legislative, Regulatory Documents 18-24 Feb *[FBIS Report]* 24
Russia: Duma Sets Up Commission for Chechnya Settlement *[ITAR-TASS]* 27

Russia: Reported Misuse of Duma Facilities for Election Purposes *[IZVESTIYA 28 Feb]* 27

Regional Affairs

Russia: Yeltsin Meets Rostov Regional Leader *[INTERFAX]* 28
Russia: Ingush President To Sue Russian Defense Ministry *[INTERFAX]* 29
Russia: 'Total Failure' for Communists in Stavropol Elections *[IZVESTIYA 28 Feb]* 29
Russia: Elections Assessed for Presidential Future *[VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Feb]* 29
Russia: Kostroma Region Regains Former Military Sites *[ITAR-TASS]* 31
Russia: Gold Privatization Conflict Examined *[VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Feb]* 31
Russia: Oil Pipeline Breaks Outside Nizhnevartovsk; Fire Quelled *[INTERFAX]* 32
Russia: Pollution Localized After Komi Oil Pipeline Accident *[ITAR-TASS]* 32

Economic Issues

Russia: Yeltsin Options on Wage Arrears Viewed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 28 Feb]* ... 33
Russia: Economist Illarionov on Decline in Budget Revenues *[Moscow RTV]* 33

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Ukraine: Kuchma Signs Space Rocket Launch Agreement With U.S. *[INTERFAX]* 34
Ukraine: Article on Atmospherics of Kuchma's U.S. Trip *[ZERKALO NEDELI 24 Feb]* 34
Ukraine: Marchuk Views Crimea, Black Sea Fleet Issues *[ITAR-TASS]* 35
Ukraine: Moroz, Russia's Seleznev Call For Closer Cooperation *[UNIAR]* 36
Ukraine: Zyuganov: Foreign Policy as 'Non-Interference' *[INTERFAX]* 36
Ukraine: Marchuk: Russia is Foreign Policy Priority *[ITAR-TASS]* 36
Ukraine: Marchuk Denies Avoiding Russian Duma Delegation *[UNIAN]* 37
Ukraine: Deputy Says Russian Security Services Stepping Up Activities *[KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI 23 Feb]* 37
Ukraine: European Body Consulted on Legality of Russian Actions *[ITAR-TASS]* 38
Ukraine: Moroz To Speak at Serb Socialist Party Congress in Belgrade *[DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA 27 Feb]* 38

National Affairs

Ukraine: Moroz Calls For Constitutional Definition of President *[UNIAN]* 39
Ukraine: Kuchma Notes Need To Work With Incumbent Deputies *[INTERFAX]* 39
Ukraine: Moroz, Left Wing in Parliament Criticized *[UKRAYINA MOLODA 23 Feb]* 40
Ukraine: Premier Favors Financial Independence for Energy Sector *[UNIAN]* 42
Ukraine: Socialist Party Leader on Program, Ties With Communists *[VREMYA 20 Feb]* 42
Ukraine: Crimean Parliament Appoints Prime Minister *[UNIAN]* 43
Ukraine: Daily Profiles New Crimean Premier *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 27 Feb]* 43

Economic Affairs

Ukraine: Foreign Banks Allowed To Participate in Privatization *[INTERFAX]* 43
Ukraine: Deputy Premier on Improving Power Complex Management *[UNIAN]* 44
Ukraine: Prime Minister Insists Coal Producers Have 'Business Plans' *[UNIAN]* 44

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Belarus: Lukashenka Supports Joint Oil Project With Russia *[ZVYAZDA 24 Feb]* 45

Belarus: Defense Minister Discusses 'Accomplishments,' Plans *[SEM DNEY 24 Feb]* 45

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan: Nazarbayev Briefed on Baykonur Status, Problems *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Feb]* 48

Tajikistan

Tajikistan: Kidnapping Seen as Possible 'Provocation' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Feb]* 48
Tajikistan: Rebel Chief Threatens Action Over Kidnapping *[Voice of Free Tajikistan]* 49

Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan: Iranians To Build Turkmen Section of Fiber-Optic Line *[ITAR-TASS]* 49

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Armenia: Ministry Sees No Progress at Helsinki Talks *[SNARK]* 50
Armenia: Karabakh Reiterates Stance on POW's *[NOYAN TAPAN]* 50

Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan: Aliyev Receives U.S. Envoy *[TURAN]* 50
Azerbaijan: Mamedov, U.S. Envoy Discussion of Azerbaijan *[TURAN]* 51
Azerbaijan: U.S. Envoy Comments on Settlement Plan *[TURAN]* 51
Azerbaijan: Decision Still Pending on Turkish Pipeline Proposal *[TURAN]* 52

BALTIC STATES

Latvia

Latvia: Prime Minister Delivers State of Nation Address *[DIENA 23 Feb]* 53
Latvia: Ulmanis Responds to Allegations of Minority Maltreatment *[Riga Radio]* 55
Latvia: Russian-Latvian Agreement Signed on Border Guarding *[Riga Radio]* 55

Political Reaction

Russia: Yeltsin Accepts Responsibility for Chechen Mistakes

LD2802111596 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1025 GMT 28 Feb 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 28 February — Russian President Boris Yeltsin "has indentified the core direction for a settlement of the situation in Chechnya," the head of state's press secretary Sergey Medvedev told a briefing today. He said that this direction "envisages resolving problems in relations between Russia and Chechnya; internal Chechen issues; and the achievement of nationwide Russian accord on this issue."

"The president is aware," said Sergey Medvedev, "that the continuation of the Chechen conflict is affecting not only voters in the run-up to the presidential elections, but also the world community's attitude to Russia. The president also realizes that mistakes were made in the initial stage of settling the situation in Chechnya. He is not trying to shift responsibility and understands that Russia cannot advance along the path of democratic reforms without a fair solution to the Chechen problem."

Sergey Medvedev denied claims in a number of the mass media that instructions which the president gave to the commissions drawing up the proposals on a settlement of the conflict in Chechnya were not carried out on time. The documents prepared by these commissions (one of them is led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and the second made up of members of the Presidential Council is led by Emil Pain), the press secretary said, "were on the president's desk strictly within the allotted time." "They are being worked upon and the president is weighting up all the 'pros' and 'cons' in resolving this problem," Sergey Medvedev noted.

The press secretary said that the key policy had three components: resolving the problem of the relationship between Chechnya and the Russian Federation, resolving the internal Chechen problems and "achieving some level of accord throughout Russia on the problem." Sergey Medvedev noted these components "must be coordinated with one another and taken into account when the final decision is drawn up."

Moreover, the press secretary said, "a way of resolving the problems as a whole must be developed." Sergey Medvedev noted that the options proposed for settling the conflict envisage guarantees of lasting peace on the territory of Russia, the prevention of terrorism and the resolution of problems of a humanitarian nature.

Russia: Yeltsin Aide, General on Chechnya Settlement

MM2802110896 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 28 Feb 96 p 1

[Feature comprising "Political Scientist's Opinion" by Emil Pain, leader of the Presidential Council Working Group To Generalize and Systematize Opinions and Proposals on Ways of Settling the Situation in Chechnya, deputy chief of the Russian President's Analysis Administration, and member of the Presidential Council, and "Military Man's View" by Colonel General Anatoliy Kvashnin, commander of the North Caucasus Military District: "The Solution of the Chechnya Problem Cannot Be Linked to Political Expediency"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Political Scientist's Opinion

So two blueprints, two reports have been submitted to the Russian Federation president — that of the commission headed by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, and that of the Presidential Council Working Group. These reports are being discussed and evaluated, so it is pointless at present to speak today about the content of the blueprints.

I don't know what Viktor Chernomyrdin's commission has put forward, but, judging by indirect indications and mutual discussions, both blueprints are directed toward a negotiated political solution of the Chechen problem. Of course, no plan is confined solely to negotiating processes. There are always organizational questions and the problem of elections.

In this case it is important to grasp the fact that the Chechen conflict is essentially three conflicts.

First, it is the conflict in relations between the Chechen Republic and Russia, second, it is the conflict inside Chechnya itself, and, third, it is the conflict among political forces throughout Russia on the Chechen problem.

One of the main elements in the blueprint we have submitted is the attempt to find a solution whereby the resolution of one problem does not intensify the others but, on the contrary, to find a simultaneous approach toward achieving national accord in Russia about Chechen policy, accord between the federal authorities and the Chechen Republic, and, of course, achieving accord within Chechen society itself. [sentence as published]

It is this approach that determines the choice of ways and means — both priority and long-term. This ap-

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proach determines, as it were, the limits of the blueprint we have outlined. What can be said about it?

The proposals submitted by our group reflect certain stages of activity, since we proceed from the premise that the Chechen problem cannot be solved swiftly and it would be extremely dangerous to try to resolve it by 8 March or Paris Commune Day, or even to key its solution to the presidential elections.

We proceed from the premise that this problem, long deeply neglected, cannot be tied to political expediency.

Military Man's View

Troops have been completely withdrawn from Chechnya before, in 1991. And what happened? Chechnya became a breeding ground for international terrorism that could not be blockaded with any posts and barriers. It is not Afghanistan. Chechnya is firmly part of Russia, and tens of thousands of Chechens live in adjoining oblasts and krays. Talks with the "diehards" will be fruitless, and it is useless to hold them.

The main hope is the development of the process of the signing of peace agreements between the federal government and the legally elected Chechen Government headed by Zavgayev and each population center in Chechnya. There are now many such agreements, most are being fulfilled, and troops have begun to withdraw. From Shatoyskiy Rayon, for instance.

Novogroznenskiy is a separate matter. Its residents themselves approached the military and said that they could not squeeze out the gunmen, who had created a powerful base there, by their own efforts. It was necessary to carry out a special military operation. It was mounted inside the village by subunits of the Special Rapid Response Detachment, the Special Purpose Police Detachment, and the police. The troops merely blockaded the village.

The gunmen are now scattered throughout the republic, so the chosen tactic of agreements with each village is the only possible approach. The texts of the agreements are read out in the village squares to the entire population. The Chechens must impose order in their own villages themselves, by creating legitimate law and order agencies.

The astounding thing about the recent incident in Ingushetia when a convoy of our troops was passing through there is the sensitive reaction of the republic's authorities to what happened. After all, it was only our soldiers who suffered there. Twelve servicemen, including the battalion commander, died as a result of the attack by crack Dudayev forces on the army convoy, and 37 were wounded. How could peaceful inhabitants of Ingushetia have suffered when the soldiers were following the most deserted route through mountain forests where nobody lives? The route was specifically chosen in order to avoid alarming peaceful citizens. Naturally, the military did not call into any villages.

In Chechnya now the bandits have mounted a real manhunt for the people to whom the Russian Government has paid compensation for the damage caused to them by the war. They sometimes slaughter entire families in order to get hold of the money. Who but the Army can today protect peaceful citizens there?

Russia: Govorukhin on Chechnya Commission Findings

MM2702161396 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 96 p 1

[Interview with Stanislav Govorukhin, chairman of the parliamentary commission investigating the Chechen conflict, by V. Nikiforova; date and place not given: "Who Launched the Bloody Conflict in Chechnya. The Materials of the Stanislav Govorukhin Commission"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Every Russian citizen has the right to know the truth about the terrible Chechen war. The materials of the parliamentary commission organized in the Duma under S.S. Govorukhin's chairmanship enable us to take a few steps closer to that truth.

Govorukhin has written a book about the criminal revolution and about the fact that a criminal regime was established in Russia. This mafia regime triumphed in its most overtly sinister form in Chechnya. And the head of this regime, former Soviet General Dudayev, spent over three years refining the methods of criminal rule with the complete connivance of the central federal authorities. Furthermore, he sent letters to President Yeltsin offering his services as an adviser and ally.

How was all this possible in Russia? Can you trust authorities who incite fresh bloodshed in Russia and inflict suffering and death on completely innocent people and peaceful workers who gave the state their best years and received nothing in return? Are such authorities not dragging the whole of Russia down into this bottomless Chechen abyss?

The Govorukhin commission's materials make you think and seek a solution to this tragic situation.

The sheer quantity of the materials gathered by the commission (19 volumes) makes it impossible to publish them in full in a newspaper, but the main conclusions and proposals cited here together with commentaries from commission chairman Stanislav Govorukhin provide, in our view, quite a full picture of the causes and circumstances of the origins of the Chechen tragedy.

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At the end of last year these documents were summarized and published as a separate book entitled "The Govorukhin Commission." On the eve of the publication of chapters from this book, PRAVDA correspondent V. Nikiforova asked Stanislav Sergeyevich to comment on it.

[Nikiforova] What is your assessment of what is happening in Chechnya now?

[Govorukhin] This is a conspiracy. From start to finish. Beginning with the arrival of Dudayev, who was brought in by Russia's leaders themselves, and ending with this terrible war and Raduyev's escape from the encirclement, for example. All this is pure treachery based on blackmail because Dudayev was not acting alone when he committed these dreadful crimes against Russia but with the connivance of the Russian leaders. He has them in his hands now too. Nor should we forget the three and a half years preceding the war. So many crimes were committed, so much money disappeared, and such tremendous harm was done to the country! All this happened with the connivance of the Russian leadership.

[Nikiforova] Do you too see the culprits primarily in Moscow?

[Govorukhin] Not primarily, solely! Whether there are a few culprits or just one. All the rest are lackeys, butchers, propagandists, and goons.

[Nikiforova] Stanislav Sergeyevich, you put these documents together. How did this very difficult work finish? Did the documents prove useful?

[Govorukhin] How did it end?! You know that the commission hurried.... There was much written about it when it began work. But when it produced its conclusion they forget about it. Its findings did not please the mass media because they are subordinate to the Kremlin and organized a conspiracy of silence. Do you remember what they said about the plight of the Russian-speaking population? Nothing. Or what they are saying now about the plight of the Russians — 200,000 hostages — in Chechnya? Nothing. This is the main problem, they are all in Dudayev's hands.

[Nikiforova] What is the solution, in your view?

[Govorukhin] They must be brought out! If we cannot restore constitutional order (and we cannot, we are betrayed during every offensive. The whole summer was spent surrendering to Dudayev's men what our boys won during the winter) then Yeltsin and his whole entourage should answer for the war in Chechnya. They must be called to account with the utmost severity. What is going on here? Our soldiers are sent in there and not even fed?! That is treachery. Our book — the commission's conclusions — has been published. It is only a small print run — 50,000 copies. But the newspapers are printing it, PRAVDA will print more.... The culprits have nowhere to hide now and not a single investigator will be able to dismiss the commission's conclusions. Our book will be evidence at the trial.

[Nikiforova] A newspaper worker heard that we had decided to print chapters from the book and doubted whether this should be done. The materials are old, he said...

[Govorukhin] He is wrong. Leaving aside the fact that the commission has carried out serious investigations, no citizen can be indifferent to the question of how the calamity in Chechnya originated and who is to blame. People will need this in the future too. In order to understand the mechanism of the treachery you need to read the commission's findings. It should not be forgotten that there were various people on the commission — the minions of "Yeltsin's democracy" and normal people who love their motherland. None of his minions signed the conclusion. Neither Sheynis nor Zolotukhin....

[Nikiforova] Do you intend returning to Chechnya?

[Govorukhin] Why? I know that the roots of the problem are all here.

[Nikiforova] But deputies are going there. Last year Yushenkov went and Borovoy has been there twice already this year....

[Govorukhin] This is all nonsense, point scoring, and work against Russia.

[Nikiforova] Was your work on the commission difficult?

[Govorukhin] Of course. But now I am firmly convinced that this was the most patent treachery. The traitors must answer for it. And they will. Whether the Communists win or not, the criminals will answer for Chechnya. All of them. They will be named.

[Nikiforova] Are you sure?

[Govorukhin] Yes, my heart tells me so. [end of interview]

The first set of chapters from the book "The Govorukhin Commission" is published on page two.

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Russia: General Kvashnin Gives News Conference on Chechnya

LD2802105896 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0315 GMT 28 Feb 96

[Remarks in quotation remarks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The time in Moscow is 0615 and we will again touch on a painful topic, about the events in Chechnya. Having returned from Chechnya, commander of the North Caucasus military district Colonel General Anatoliy Kvashnin gave a news conference for journalists. Valeriy Sukhnin reports:

[Sukhnin] Anatoliy Vasilyevich recalled how the conflict had started, in noble slogans of freedom and national independence and spoke about the stages of the confrontation of many years' standing, about the unsuccessful attempt at settlement last year:

[Kvashnin] "In the final analysis these negotiating processes ended with an agreement on a peaceful settlement of the situation in the Chechen republic. This agreement was signed on behalf of the government of the Russian Federation and on behalf of the Chechen republic — then Ichkeria — in the presence of the OSCE on 30 July 1995. The first point was the cessation of combat operations. The second point was the liberation of (?prisoners) held. All this was in the agreement. On the Russian side, in particular, the command of the temporary forces deployed on the territory of the Chechen Republic, fulfilled this. If the opposite side had wanted this, it would have been possible to achieve peace and accord on this long-suffering Chechen land. This is why the people went to the elections with hope. Zavgayev, Doku Gapurovich, was elected head of the republic. Dudayev lost once again. But, having lost, he is once again attempting to secure the achievement of his mafia crime aims — the events in Pervomayskoye — I am not mentioning the terrorist acts, including against the secretary of the Security Council; I am not mentioning the terrorist act against the head of the Chechen Republic..."

[unidentified voice, prompting] "The Gudermes tragedy.

[Kvashnin, continuing] "...we were forced to carry out a special military operation in Novogroznenskiy — the troops only sealed off the settlement whereas the operations inside the village were carried out by law enforcement bodies: SOBR [special rapid reaction detachment], OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], and the militia."

[Sukhnin] Anatoliy Vasilyevich formulated the present-day method of normalizing relations with non-militant Chechen citizens as follows:

[Kvashnin] "Talks are now under way with each village. Talks are under way now with each settlement. The appropriate agreements are being signed between the representatives of the village and the government of the Chechen Republic and the command of the temporary joint forces. A treaty was signed recently with Shatoy District. Shali, Alleroy, Forteroy, Bachi-Yurt, Maytrup, Kurchaloy, Novaya Zhizn, and Oktyabrskoye are now getting ready for this and most probably these agreements will be signed."

[Sukhnin] The commander also shared his thoughts with the journalists as to whether Dudayev can be captured:

[Kvashnin] "I advise you to travel to Dudayev and have a look. What is being written about this is not very professional. You know he is being guarded. Here is a simple example of this: say, he enters one house and then surreptitiously leaves in completely different clothing from the other side. And everyone thinks that he lives there, and 24 hours later he again appears there as though he had just left."

[Shukhnin] Various methods — both military and peaceful — of resolving the Chechen problem are being examined. Combined options are also possible. But all this takes time, in particular if one takes into account the difficulties of the supply of the Russian armed forces with material and equipment.

Russia: Intelligence Aide on Dudayev Tactics, Objectives

MM2702160096 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 27 Feb 96 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Topic of the Day" rubric: "From Where Is the Strike To Be Expected? A Source on the SVR Leadership: Chechen Terrorism Receives a Financial and Personnel Top-Up From Other Terrorist Organizations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Chechen terrorism is receiving a financial and personnel top-up from other terrorist organizations, including ones of a fundamentalist tendency, a source at the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service [SVR] told a POSTFACTUM correspondent in an exclusive interview Thursday. The SVR reached this conclusion on analyzing the terrorist acts by Chechens at Budennovsk and Kizlyar, the attempt to take hostages on board the freight and passenger ferry Avrasya, and also the "radioactive" blackmail.

According to the source, the SVR presumes that supporters precisely of the terrorist line have gradually prevailed in the Chechen leadership, where a struggle for leading positions is continuing. They include A. Movsayev, leader of Dudayev's security service, Sh.

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Basayev, S. Raduyev, A. Ismailov, and others who believe that in the present conditions terrorism must be brought to the fore. At the same time, in the source's opinion, supporters of the line of "elimination through terror" believe that, despite certain costs (the generally negative reaction on the part of public opinion, etc.), "these actions demonstrate the Chechens' readiness to resort to extreme measures, making Russian citizens displeased with the ineffectiveness of the authorities' actions — which is highly disadvantageous to the Russian leadership given the approaching presidential election in the Russian Federation."

In addition, the source remarked, carrying out action in Dagestan and in other regions adjacent to Chechnya gives Dudayev hope that these regions' relations with Moscow will deteriorate.

Describing the international aspect of Chechen terrorism, the source at the SVR commented that Dudayev proceeds from the premise that certain foreign states are interested in preserving instability in Chechnya by any means, including terror, since "in such a situation Russia will find it far harder to resolve a question of such extreme importance to its weakened economy as ways to transport Caucasian oil."

The SVR is convinced that the Dudayevists' extremist wing has long been nurturing plans to move terrorist acts outside Russia. In the opinion of the source at the SVR, the episode of the seizure of the ferry Avrasya's passengers is merely the first action of this kind.

The source at the SVR presumed that those countries which, in the Dudayevists' opinion, stand aloof from giving Dudayev's gunmen active moral and material support could become the venue for acts of terrorism. The SVR has not ruled out the possibility that Russian establishments abroad and also Russian citizens who travel to these countries on long or short official trips, tourists, and businessmen will be the targets of actions.

At the same time, as the source declared, the aforesaid runs counter to the fact that gunmen carried out a terrorist act in Turkey: "That country, despite the official authorities' declarations of respect for Russia's territorial integrity, certainly cannot be categorized by Dudayev among those that do not help his regime: The Chechen diaspora is active there, and funds for Chechnya are collected through its channels."

On this basis the SVR presumes that Dudayev would hardly have sanctioned Tokcan's action of taking hostages in Turkey, realizing that he might thereby complicate his relations with the Turkish ruling circles.

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CIS: ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 28 Feb

LD2802083796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0637 GMT 28 Feb 96

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, February 28 (Itar-Tass) — The press concentrates on the Russian visit by Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka. The Rossiyskiye Vesti newspaper informs its readers that the packed programme of his stay in the Russian Federation includes large-scale talks with the Russian leaders, on the results of which it is planned to sign several Russian-Belarusian documents.

Main attention will be given to the discussion of integration process within the Commonwealth of Independent States, including economic aspects of cooperation between Russia and Belarus.

The daily quotes the Belarusian leader as saying on the eve of the visit: "I want to ask Yeltsin to tell the truth, at long last, about the Belovezhskaya agreements (Eds: the Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian leaders met in the Belovezhskaya forest in 1991 and signed agreements which resulted in the collapse of the Soviet Union) and about subsequent events. About reasons for signing the treaty between the leaders of the three states as well as who and what role played at that time.

"I know that the Russian president wanted the collapse of the Soviet Union least of all. He did not want 'to cut into live flesh'. There are verbatim reports of the Moscow meeting. They should be made public."

Member of the Presidential Council Emil Pain and commander of the North Caucasian Military District Anatoliy Kvashnin express their opinions on the Chechen conflict in the same newspaper.

In the opinion of Pain who heads the working group on summarising opinions and proposals of the Presidential Council on ways of settling the situation in Chechnya, the Chechen conflict is, in actual fact, three conflicts.

Firstly, this is a conflict of relations between the Chechen Republic and Russia, secondly, a conflict inside Chechnya and, thirdly, a conflict all over Russia between political forces on the Chechen problem.

"One of the main elements of a concept we submitted is an attempt to find such a decision, as a result of which a solution of one problem will not deteriorate others. On the contrary, it should help find a simultaneous approach to achieving a national accord in Russia concerning the Chechen policy, an accord between federal authorities and the Chechen Republic and, naturally, an accord within the Chechen society."

Kvashnin expresses his viewpoint on a possible withdrawal of troops from Chechnya. He noted that the pullout of troops from that republic in 1991 resulted "in turning Chechnya into a breeding ground of international terrorism which could not be sealed off by any posts or blockades.

"Chechnya is not Afghanistan, and it is an integral part of Russia. Many dozen thousands of Chechens live in neighbouring regions and territories of the Russian Federation. Talks with 'the irreconcilables' will yield nothing, and it is in vain to start them," the general writes.

The Rossiyskaya Gazeta newspaper writes that 1,679.51 billion roubles will be spent to realise the presidential programme "Children of Russia".

The money will be used, above all, for invalid and Chernobyl disaster children as well as for those who are raised at orphanages and boarding schools, who are deprived of shelter and became refugees or displaced persons together with their parents. The daily carries an appropriate presidential decree on the programme.

The same newspaper reports that the Russian government will hold an enlarged meeting next Thursday where cabinet head Viktor Chernomyrdin will deliver a report on the results of Russia's social and economic development in 1995 and tasks for 1996.

The newspaper notes that its importance is very great, since the results of the past year and prospects for social and economic development are discussed on the eve of the presidential elections.

Decisions to be taken by the meeting can be called as President Boris Yeltsin's economic platform.

Speaking in an interview with Rossiyskaya Gazeta, Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, Minister for Nationalities and Regional Policy, said that one should not mix real problems of sovereignty with "arrogance" and headlong drive for independence in localities.

It is more important now to speak about the instinct for national self-preservation, which can separate state interests from regional ambitions. Any separatist action should be resolutely countered, the minister stressed.

CIS: Problems Facing Integration Efforts Viewed

MM2702135996 Moscow FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by Yevgeniy Vasilchuk: "CIS Countries' Economy Encountering Difficulties on Path to Integration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The socioeconomic development of the CIS countries in 1995 is characterized by the

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weakening of a number of negative trends. The slump in GDP and industrial production has slowed down. Capital investment movements were less dramatic than in 1994. The inflation situation has moderated.

However, no weighty positive developments were recorded either. The fall in the population's incomes and living standard continued and the decline in retail trade turnover accelerated. Reciprocal trade fell again as a proportion of the CIS countries' foreign trade.

This situation is largely due to the continuing political instability in many CIS states. But it has to be acknowledged that, contrary to the declared commitment to integration, some countries have actually embarked on a policy of autonomous economic development.

Consequently what we are seeing now is not just continued imbalance in economic changes and economic growth but also a clear unwillingness on the part of individual states to create effective mechanisms for multilateral economic cooperation. Unless such mechanisms are created, however, the heroic efforts of the enthusiasts for CIS integration even at the highest level are doomed to fail.

Individual organizational achievements — for example, the first session of the Interstate Currency Committee held 8 February — merely emphasize the enormous gravity of the CIS' integration problems. What we are seeing here is the most acute shortage of financial and bureaucratic resources necessary for their solution.

To put it simply, the CIS countries are expressing a readiness to discuss all points ad infinitum. However, few of them are willing to adopt, let alone fulfill, specific commitments including those on funding the development of supranational interstate organs. In 1995, for example, only four countries met these commitments. As a result, Russia's share of the "bureaucratic" cost of CIS economic integration rose from 50 percent and 70 percent.

The delay in integration "from the top down" would be tolerable if there were a powerful wave of prounification feelings emanating from the grass roots. Unfortunately that is not in evidence at the moment either. In most countries of the CIS region the political reality is such that the national business elite closely heeds the opinion of the dominant national political elites. But as yet there is no clear stance among them on the question of promoting multilateral economic cooperation. This is an illustration of the "wait and see" principle. It is easier to negotiate on a bilateral basis.

In these conditions, for example, the process of establishing transnational financial-industrial groups within the CIS which had just begun to gather momentum a year ago has virtually died. There is no great enthusiasm yet for the modest attempts undertaken by the Interstate Economic Committee to revive it.

Nevertheless, generally speaking the results of CIS development do provide grounds for optimism. The CIS countries' economic situation did not deteriorate sharply in 1995. By all accounts the disintegration processes have bottomed out. There is a hope that in the next few years the instinct for self-preservation and common sense will bring the CIS states, bankers, and entrepreneurs back to the path of real rather than proclaimed cooperation and integration.

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Russia: Russia Officially Joins Council of Europe

LD2802121996 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1134 GMT 28 Feb 96

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Nikita Yermakov, Yuriy Kozlov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Strasbourg, 28 Feb — The Russian Federation has officially joined today the Council of Europe [CE], becoming its 39th member-state.

This took place after the Russian Federation Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov handed in to CE Secretary General Daniel Tarschys the deeds on Russia joining the CE charter and the Common agreement on the privileges and immunity.

The foreign minister also signed the European convention on the defense of human rights and basic freedoms, which is the Council's basic document, as well as 10 protocols, conventions and charters.

These latter include the European charter on the local self-government, the European convention on the prohibition of tortures, inhumane treatment and punishments and the European convention on the protection of national minorities.

Russia: Primakov in Strasbourg for CE Admission Ceremony

LD2702162796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1610 GMT 27 Feb 96

[By Nikita Yermakov and Yuriy Kozlov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] STRASBOURG, February 27 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov arrived in Strasbourg on Tuesday to attend an official ceremony of Russia's admission to the Council of Europe [CE] scheduled for Wednesday.

The Russian foreign minister will hand over to Secretary-General of the Council of Europe Daniel Tarschys the instruments of Russia's joining the Charter and the general agreement on privileges and immunities of the Council of Europe. Later, he is expected to sign a number of fundamental European conventions, including those on the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, banning torture and inhuman treatment and punishment, on the protection of national minorities, as well as the European Charter of local self-government.

In addition, the Russian side is to make a statement about the intention to recognise legislatively the right of individual citizens to address the European Commission on Human Rights and on the compatibility of Russia's obligations under conventions in the area of human rights protection in the framework of the Council of Europe.

Vladimir Lukin, the Chairman of the Russian State Duma Committee for International Issues, and Nikolay Ryabov, the Chairman of the Central Electoral Committee, who are also on the Russian delegation, spoke highly of the prospects for Russia's membership in the Council of Europe. They believe it is for the first time in its history that the Russian state is joining the European expanse. The material outlays of around 25 million dollars a year involved in Russia's admission to the Council of Europe are incomparable with the advantages, including political, since the joining into the Council of Europe will become "the key element in the construction of the building of unified Europe."

On Tuesday night, the Russian foreign minister will meet Tarschys and his British counterpart Malcolm Rifkind.

On Wednesday, Primakov will hold talks with Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen and President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Len Fisher.

Russia: IMF Loan Seen as Funding Yeltsin's Election Campaign

MM2802114196 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 96 pp 1, 2

[Article by Viktor Trushkov: "A Gift to the President from Camdessus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The executive director of the IMF estimates that each vote for B. Yeltsin in the forthcoming presidential elections is worth...two shkaliks (Footnote) (According to the definition in S. Ozhegov's Dictionary of the Russian Language, a shkalik is an "old Russian measure of wine equivalent to 1/200th of a vedro," which is 12 liters) of vodka. The most elementary mathematical calculations justify that conclusion.

Michel Camdessus is a most kind-hearted man! His love for the Russian reforms is boundless. For their sake he did not even balk at lending (and charging interest, of course) $10 billion to his keen client B. Yeltsin, whom he simply worships after the president's recent message to the Federal Assembly. I fear that for his sake Camdessus will join Chernomyrdin's "Home." M. Camdessus intends to devote his probationary period to Boris Yeltsin's election campaign.

As his contribution to the Russian election campaign, the IMF head visited First Vice Premier O. Soskovets, the leader (on a voluntary basis, apparently) of the

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Yeltsin election campaign staff, and concluded a kind of agreement with him. The executive director will be Boris Yeltsin's election agent in the West if the provisions of the president's recent message to parliament are implemented. Admittedly, this formula is somewhat ambiguous: As B. Yeltsin's official agent, Camdessus will either lobby the IMF's shareholders to vote for the Russian Federation president (since they cannot vote via the ballot paper they will do so with their wallets) or he will place his trust in Yeltsin's [doveryayet Yeltsinu] remaining president of "this country."

Option two is the more likely. The IMF director stresses ad infinitum that he is providing the loan "for the reforms." Which means: "for Yeltsin's election as president." The "democrats" of all shades and hues responded by applauding him (and they have not stopped yet). Let us now consider why they are so generous in their applause.

According to those who proclaim the Kremlin's policy, the new IMF loan is supposed to benefit all Russia. But will it be a cause of great rejoicing? Converted into rubles [R] the $10 billion come to approximately R47 trillion. Even if this manna from heaven were to descend on each of us in equal proportion (that is, without showing additional generosity to the 20 percent of the fat cats who already possess one-half of the monetary resources) this works out to R313,333 each. Or approximately one-half the average monthly wage. Or at least less than the current subsistence minimum. It is not a lot, of course. But we won't even see that much because the IMF's terms decree otherwise.

In the first place, it is a three-year loan. This means that for the first nine months (the loan starts 1 April) we will get R104,444. That makes R11,600 per month — enough for four cottage loaves.

Second, we won't have enough for an extra cottage loaf a week because B. Yeltsin needs the loan to mobilize votes. But for that purpose he needs at the very least to begin by settling the wage arrears. Those same arrears which according to the directive signed by the president at the beginning of the year were due to be settled by 31 January and which he vowed in Yekaterinburg to settle before 1 March. According to FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA that comes to around R30 trillion. That is almost twice the year's tranche of the new loan.

However, FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA's experts are confident that the Russian budget has hidden reserves of around R15 trillion — perhaps the money loaned by M. Camdessus. But let us hope for the best and assume that of the 30 trillion pledged by Yeltsin "to the voter," one-half will come from the mythical reserves, the rest will come from the IMF loan. That will still leave around R0.5 trillion for the election campaign. There are over 100 million voters in the country. That means an inducement of R5,000 per person at most. M. Camdessus does not set a high price on votes in the presidential elections cast for B. Yeltsin! No higher than two shots of pure vodka (plus the glass, of course).

Russia: Ministry 'Concerned' Over Downing of American Planes

LD2702140596 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1256 GMT 27 Feb 96

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (ITAR-TASS) — The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs received the news that the Cuban air force shot down two American planes "with concern", Mikhail Demurin, first deputy director of the ministry's press and information department, told a briefing today. He expressed sorrow over the deaths caused in the incident.

According to the diplomat, the circumstances of the incident need to be thoroughly investigated and, moreover, "the arguments of the Cuban side should be heard without prejudice."

Mikhail Demurin expressed the belief that states should observe the demands of international law which stipulate that they refrain from the use of weapons against civilian airliners in flight.

He said that at the same time "a question arises about the purposes of such flights in Cuba's air space and near it." The Foreign Ministry's official spokesman thinks that this is a question of deliberate violations of Cuban air space and "of clearly provoking actions."

Demurin thinks that states should take appropriate measures to prevent the use of civilian aircraft for any purposes incompatible with the clauses of the international convention on civil aviation. The diplomat also said that it is necessary to improve cooperation within the framework of the International Civil Aviation Organization between all states which could contribute to the investigation of the incident.

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Russia: U.S. Cuba Moves 'Fairly Restrained'; Russia Stalling

MM2702152296 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Nadein: "Clinton Determined To Punish Cuba. Russia Alone Deters International Sanctions"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] U.S. President Bill Clinton appeared in the White House press room for only a few minutes in order to stigmatize Cuba for destroying two unarmed light-engined aircraft and to announce the measures he had taken. Bearing in mind the Americans' sharply worded reaction to the probable deaths of four of their compatriots, these measures are fairly restrained. The President avoided answering journalists' questions clearly so as not to look lackluster and indecisive. [passage omitted]

The U.S. attempts to secure international support against Cuba are so far being stalled by the reaction of Russia. The European Union, certain Latin American states, and several European governments have joined the U.S. protests. Although Russia has stopped supporting Cuba automatically from ideological motives, it has decided not to vote for the U.S. proposals in the UN Security Council until the picture is finally clarified.

Russia: Zhirinovskiy Sends 'Harsh Letter' to Buchanan

LD2702125096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1015 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 27 (Interfax) — Russian Liberal Democratic leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy sent a harsh letter Monday to Pat Buchanan, seeking Republican presidential nomination in the United States. According to the Liberal Democratic Party press service, the letter followed Buchanan's speech in Phoenix, Arizona.

Earlier Zhirinovskiy had congratulated Buchanan on his victory in the New Hampshire primary elections.

The Liberal Democratic leader promised the Republican to combine the efforts of Russia and the United States "in the struggle for national liberation, if the two brothers-in-arms come to power".

"You say Congress is an Israeli occupied territory. We in Russia have the same situation. Therefore to survive we could allot places for the settlement of this small but troublesome tribe at the expense of the territories of the United States and Russia," Zhirinovskiy's first message said.

In Phoenix Buchanan rejected Zhirinovskiy's suggestion and called himself a patriot who believes every U.S. citizen irrespective of race, the color of skin or origin - including U.S. Jews - has constitutional rights. He promised to defend the interests of every U.S. citizen, if they are threatened abroad.

"Pat, I thought you were defending the interests of your nation. But you turned out the same as Clinton and other mercenary politicians. You are driven by greed and vanity but not love for your Fatherland," Zhirinovskiy's latest letter circulated by the Liberal Democratic press service says.

"You do not give a damn about the interests of every U.S. citizen or the United States itself. Whom are you afraid of? Zionists?" the letter says.

The message contains rude expressions with regard to the U.S. politician and Interfax does not find it possible to reproduce it in full.

Russia: Ban on U.S. Chicken Import Seen as Protectionism

MK2802111096 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 27 Feb 96 p 2

[Report by Elmar Murtazayev: "Russian Veterinarians Are Protecting Domestic Chicken Producers. The Fight With a U.S. Competitor Is Being Justified by 'Interests of Russian Consumers'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Late last week, the Veterinary Department of the Russian Agriculture Ministry proposed that import of chicken meat from the United States be banned, this novation being justified by "poor quality of U.S. chicken meat." After 1 March, the department will not be giving its permission for import of poultry from the United States. According to Sanitary and Epidemiological Inspectorate data, over 80 percent of all poultry imported from the United States is not being subjected to sanitary inspection, whereas over 26 percent of the deliveries controlled by the Agriculture Ministry does not meet quality standards.

In an interview to ITAR-TASS, Vyacheslav Avilov, head of the Veterinary Department, said that in January Russian veterinarians inspected in the United States how the U.S. side was meeting the [Russian] veterinary health certificate requirements. Based on the inspection results, the Russian experts have come to the conclusion that U.S. products do not meet established requirements. According to Mr. Avilov, U.S. officials have not disproved the claim of the Russian side, and at present they "are taking measures" so as to ensure the fulfillment of all the veterinary certificate's requirements. If,

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however, the U.S. fails to give corresponding guarantees, import of chicken meat from the United States will be banned altogether.

Meanwhile, the U.S. side is insisting that the actions of the Russian authorities are unlawful. In a letter to Aleksandr Zaveryukha, deputy premier of the Russian government, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman said that the new rules "are exorbitant and do not contribute to a greater safety of products." In the opinion of U.S. Department of Agriculture officials, the measures to be introduced by Russia are of an "utterly protectionist nature" and are aimed at protecting the interests of Russian meat producers. The U.S. version is partially justified historically: Last year, Russia markedly raised import duties on meat, and still earlier it established more rigid technical and sanitary standards for imported products.

The situation is readily explainable. In recent years, due to price advantages, European and U.S. poultry producers have virtually ousted local food producers from the Russian market. According to the Agriculture Ministry, imported poultry accounts for over two-thirds of the Russian market. Various protectionist measures of the government have produced no results, and the share of domestic meat is steadily decreasing. Under such conditions, there can be only one solution: to discontinue import altogether in order to make the irresponsible Russian consumer eat Russian "blue bird," which, judging by the Agriculture Ministry's logic, fully meets rigid sanitary standards. Therefore, a scenario which has already been tested on other foodstuffs will most probably be used when, in the wake of a diminished competition, domestic producers skyrocket prices for their own products. Incidentally, according to customs statistics, in 1995 the value of poultry imports to Russia amounted to over $500 million, whereas State Statistical Committee data suggests that in recent years the share of poultry meat in an average consumer basket in Russia has steadily been on the decline.

Russia: Kalugin's Memoirs Said To Prompt FBI Search for NSA Spy

MK2702141996 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Feb 96 p 6

[Report by Andrey Streletskiy under the "Details" rubric: "Yet Another 'Russian Spy' in the United States Arrested. The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service Criticizes Chatterers From Special Services"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Last Friday, FBI agents arrested 50-year-old Robert Stephen Lipka, former employee of the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA), on charges of conspiring to spy for the USSR in the 1960's and the 1970's. Lipka worked for NSA from 1964 to 1967.

NSA was set up in 1952; since its inception it has been part of the U.S. Department of Defense, but in actual fact it is an independent component of the U.S. intelligence community, responsible for the organization and conduct of electronic intelligence and the protection of communications lines.

NSA is also entrusted with devising codes and ciphers for cryptographic systems for the transmission of secret information.

Among agencies that are part of the U.S. intelligence community, NSA is of the most secret: Any disclosure of official information about the agency (its budget, staff, or structure) is prohibited by law.

By some accounts, NSA's budget is approximately $8 billion. The overall strength of personnel at NSA facilities, including servicemen of all armed services attached to the agency, is estimated at more than 120,000. The agency operates about 2,000 electronic intercept stations. [passage omitted]

Reports of Lipka's arrest particularly emphasize an intriguing detail. In 1994, the book "The First Directorate," written by former KGB General Oleg Kalugin, was published in the United States.

The book contains an episode that might well have activated the FBI's effort to identify and seize Robert Lipka. This is what Mr. Kalugin writes:

"As sometimes happens in life, success came when it was least expected. In late 1965, a 'volunteer' from the National Security Agency offered his services. For several years this young guy supplied our agents' office with top secret documents that enabled the KGB to keep track of all major military and political problems..."

"Thanks to reports from NSA, and also from a source in the CIA that emerged later, albeit for a short while, our agents' office in Washington came to the forefront of intelligence gathering, systematically and accurately covering key issues of world politics."

This important detail prompted Yuriy Kobaladze, chief of the SVR press bureau, to whom your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent turned for comments on the arrest of Robert Lipka, to make the following statement: "The SVR has repeatedly drawn the attention of the mass media and public to the fact that revelations of certain chatterers from special services may harm specific individuals and the security of the country. Undoubtedly, you can criticize the work of the special services as harshly as possible, but when specific names

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or details of operations are disclosed, we consider this an act of betrayal, regardless of whether or not we recognize if one person or another was connected with us."

As for Lipka's arrest, the SVR would not comment on the episode, suggesting that all questions be put to the FBI. At the same time, professional intelligence specialists think, certain details of this story indicate that a special operation was carried out against Lipka in which agents of the U.S. counterintelligence service passed themselves off as his "friends from Russia."

Presumably, Robert Lipka's arrest will confirm the SVR's fears that a coordinated campaign is being waged against the Russian foreign intelligence service, which is currently on a fairly firm footing both domestically and abroad. According to experts, recent scandals in the Czech Republic, Poland, Germany, and Israel are the results of this campaign. Certain officials from the U.S. administration, too, have made strongly worded statements regarding the SVR. One explanation for the start of this mass campaign is the West's nervous reaction to Yevgeniy Primakov's appointment as foreign minister and the resulting closer cooperation expected between the Foreign Ministry and the SVR in resolving many international problems.

Russia: U.S. Seen Challenging Russian Missile Sale to ROK

MM2802091196 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by Sergey Agafonov: "Threat From Russia to U.S. 'Patriot'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tokyo — The latest news from Seoul concerning plans to modernize South Korea's air defense system have created a considerable stir, not only among arms dealers but also in political corridors. South Korea, weary of American haughtiness and the high cost of U.S. arms products, intends to place major orders for ultramodern air defense systems in Russia, purchasing Russian S-300 missile complexes.

To judge by the local press, the Koreans are attracted not only by the high efficiency of the Russian weapons but by their comparatively low cost — Russia is asking almost 40 percent less for the S-300 complex than the extortionate price which the Americans are demanding for their Patriot system, whose quality, incidentally, is far from irreproachable. This is well known to everyone who is interested in weapons from the results of the Gulf War.

The fact that the South Korean arms market has long been solidly monopolized by the Americans adds a certain spice to the plot. Patriot missile complexes are already stationed on South Korean territory, and a week ago U.S. Defense Department chief William Perry announced the placement in the South Korean "theater" next year of a further 40 modernized air defense missile complexes produced on Lockheed corporation assembly lines. The Pentagon gives as the formal reason for this decision a request from Gery Lak [name as transliterated], commander of the U.S. corps in South Korea, prompted by the North Korean "missile threat." In fact, in the opinion of many experts, the large-scale delivery of Patriots is connected with the South Korean program for the modernization of its air defense systems. The additional complexes are supposed to "stimulate" the South Koreans and ensure the purchase of American, rather than any other, missile product.

It should be noted that Russia's "fledgling" attempts to secure a foothold in the South Korean arms market already have a history to them: The Russian military-industrial complex has been wooing the Koreans with its product almost since bilateral diplomatic relations were established. These talks made particular progress after the problem of Russian credit debts to Korea arose. And the first, albeit modest, consignments of Russian arms flowed into South Korea as a payment against this debt, which stands at $1.47 million. According to information from Seoul, the prospects for purchases of Russian S-300 complexes are also partly connected with the debt problem.

The portfolio of South Korean potential orders for the modernization of its air defense forces, in the opinion of experts, is worth approximately $2.5 million. A respectable sum, and it can be confidently assumed that the Americans will not give up just like that. That means that the arithmetic will probably be transformed into politics, and Seoul will receive a remarkable opportunity to sign up to a "marriage" of unique potential with both Moscow and Washington.

Russia: Japanese Move on Control of Straits Noted

MM2702160896 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 96 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Far East: Territorial Problems Will Flare Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tokyo, 22 Feb — The Japan Defense Agency is proposing to expand the national territorial waters zone in the La Perouse Strait and four other very important maritime passes around the country in order to constrain the actions of Russian and other foreign warships there. THE DAILY YOMIURI has reported this, but the Japan Defense Agency itself is at the moment refusing to either confirm or deny the information officially.

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At issue specifically are the La Perouse Strait between the Russian island of Sakhalin and Hokkaido, the Tsugaru Strait between Hokkaido and Honshu, and the western and eastern passes of the Korea Strait, as well as the Osumi Strait to the south of Kyushu. At present foreign ships can pass freely outside the three-mile Japanese territorial waters zone. But now the Japan Defense Agency in collaboration with the Foreign Ministry is examining the question of leaving only a narrow strip of three nautical miles in the central waterway of these straits for foreign navigation.

Under international agreements Japan has the right to a 12-mile territorial waters zone. However, in the five straits it is obliged to either leave a free maritime zone for foreign navigation or allow foreign ships to move unhindered through its national zone. Tokyo is rejecting the latter option on the grounds that it threatens the country's security. At the same time, according to press reports, the Japanese Foreign Ministry is currently reacting cautiously to appeals by the military for a reduction in the corridor of international "free waters" in the straits, because it fears a sharp reaction on the part of its neighbors — China, Russia, and the two Korean states.

The Japanese government's 20 February decision to submit a package of draft laws to parliament for examination proposing the establishment of a 200-mile economic zone could also provoke a sharp exacerbation in territorial differences with South Korea and China. In an attempt to to prevent territorial strife, Tokyo is trying to convince Seoul and Beijing that all the problems connected with Japan's ratification, expected during the present parliamentary session, of the UN Convention on Maritime Law can be easily solved by concluding a new agreement on fishing with those countries.

Countries ratifying the convention obtain the right to establish an exclusive 200-mile (370-km) economic zone outside the 12-mile territorial waters for fishing, prospecting for oil and minerals, and conducting any other kind of economic activity. Japan still has not ratified the convention because of the proximity of the neighboring countries and the existence of territorial differences with them. But now Tokyo will have to enter into talks with them about laying down new demarcation lines at sea.

Russia: Yeltsin Cites Need To Strengthen Integration With Belarus

LD2702161696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1338 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 27 (Interfax) — Russian-Belarusian summits will be held annually, Boris Yeltsin told Interfax after the ceremony of signing of Russian-Belarussian documents in the Kremlin Tuesday.

Yeltsin explained the need for such meetings by the striving of two presidents to strengthen integration in economic, military, military-technical and military-political spheres.

According to Yeltsin, he has discussed "a very important document with Alexander Lukashenko, which both countries will sign in March. Probably, Kazakhstan will join us."

Nevertheless, the Kazakh president "has his own approaches to the problem under discussion. We must meet with him and find a compromise," Yeltsin said. He did not reveal what kind of document it is nor its name, but made it clear that the matter concerns a complex of measures aimed at strengthening cooperation between Russia and Belarus and then Kazakhstan. This document, if signed, "will have a great significance for the fate of citizens of three states," Yeltsin said.

Russia: Belarus Gives Russia Warheads; Debt Forgiven

LD2702185296 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1815 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] [no dateline as received] "As a result of the agreement settling financial claims which was reached at the meeting between Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Belarus President Alyaksandr Lukashenka, Russia 'has forgiven' Belarus a debt of about 2 trillion rubles, and has been 'given' warheads in return," Aleksandr Pochinok, member of the State Duma Budget Committee, told Ekho Moskvy radio station.

Previously Belarus had insisted on Russia paying compensation for the nuclear contents of the missiles which are being cut under the bilateral Russo-U.S. accords and which have been withdrawn from the territory of Belarus and salvaged in Russia.

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Political Issues

Russia: Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Chechnya, Debt Issues

LD2702172396 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1654 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 27 Feb — The press service of the president of the Russian Federation released a communication today which says:

"Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin today held his traditional working meeting with Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the government of the Russian Federation.

"During the meeting Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin discussed acceptable options for settling the conflict in the Chechen Republic. The head of the Russian government reported on how the Russian Federation president's instructions for clearing wage arrears and paying pensions to state employees was being implemented. The Russian president stressed that while most of the debt will be paid in March, he will continue to check that funds are being transferred to citizens on time.

"Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin discussed the progress of the unfolding campaign for the election of the head of state. Personnel issues were not touched upon at the meeting."

Russia: Shumeyko Warns on Zyuganov, Zhirinovskiy Poll Victory

LD2702192796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 27 (Interfax) - Victory by Russian Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov at the June presidential elections "will result in civil war for the country," believes leader of the Reforms — New Course movement and former Federation Council chairman Vladimir Shumeyko.

Shumeyko's political movement has publicly endorsed President Boris Yeltsin for a second term.

Addressing a briefing in Interfax office in Moscow Tuesday, he said that the victory of the LDPR leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy "may lead to a third world war."

Shumeyko was unflattering in his appraisal of Yabloko movement leader Grigory Yavlinskiy's campaign. "Trouble is behind him. It is unclear even now who he is, a democrat or a centrist," Shumeyko said.

The victory of the present head of state, Boris Yeltsin, at the presidential elections will mean "freedom, stability and continuation of reforms for Russia."

Responding to Interfax, Shumeyko admitted the possibility of early parliamentary elections in case Yeltsin wins at the elections "because he would hardly be able to coordinate candidacy of head of the government with the present State Duma."

Not all Russian communists will vote for Zyuganov, Shumeyko believes. The latter, he said, himself calls the most orthodox communist groups "cave-dweller communists."

Russia: Yeltsin Message 'Reeks of Electioneering'

MM2802111296 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 96 p 1

[Article by Ivan Sharov: "Your Are Right, Boris. Message Errs on Side of Plagiarism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I do not think that Russian President B. Yeltsin's message or his speech on that occasion made any special impression on Federal Assembly deputies. Even other listeners and readers were hardly enraptured by the stream of rhetoric coming from the head of state's mouth. And why not? Simply because everything that he said — minor stylistic and presentational differences apart — has already been heard, especially in the recent past, and reeks of electioneering.

The president's "opponent" Ye. Gaydar thinks that the section of the message dealing with economic and social problems is especially meaningful and objective. But even without analyzing in depth B. Yeltsin's conclusions on this account, one would like to change the already hackneyed phrase: "You are right, Boris!" Why reinvent the wheel? G. Zyuganov is right in saying that many of the statements made by the president are nothing but a rewording of conclusions drawn three years ago by the Communists, conclusions which now, enunciated by other people, smack of populist bait. This is nothing but plagiarism.

Boris Nikolayevich is right, he is certainly right in saying: "The main thing which we did not manage to do was to reliably protect social and economic rights. In implementing social policy we operate passively, move only in the wake of events, and often only react to overt manifestations of social dissatisfaction. The state's social obligations are fulfilled extremely imperfectly...." Insight? He that hath eyes to see has seen, he that hath ears to hear has heard?

Yes, he has seen and he has heard. But why not earlier? After all, way back in late 1992, when the president was forced to send his most valued monetarist and radical economist Ye. Gaydar into retirement, the result of the liberalization of prices was already obvious even to those who did not have eyes to see. The "safe

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crackers" who perpetrated an unprecedented plunder of the population received only a mild reprimand from the top authorities. Let us recall how M. Chelnokov, a deputy of the disbanded Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, threw into Chubays' face the latter's infernal creation — the vouchers. Was the parliamentarian too worked up, or was he right in rejecting this thief's license? He was right, and so were millions of other Russians who realized (before the president did?) how the destruction of the most modern technological production units was progressing. But any attempt at that time to amend this most complex and most painful process of changing the forms of ownership brought the "democrats" to hysterics: "Subversion of the reforms!"

Right then, almost three years ago, when the Declaration of Nationwide Economic Accord appeared, patriots and ordinary conscientious people spoke of the need to switch from the monetary-liberal model of transformations to a socially oriented mixed economy. Its foundation is the free existence of different forms of ownership and the state's effective social functioning. Can you see how sensible this is, and how much in step with the times? And of what are the people's-patriotic forces being accused by the "democrats" today? The "red wheel" will roll over everyone and everything, expropriation, redistribution of property, and sundry other horrors — this is what Russians are being threatened with. But how can tens of millions of our compatriots imagine anything more dreadful than today's plague?

How can you object to Boris Nikolayevich when he says that the state's first task is to protect citizens against nonpayment of wages and benefits. That budget funds are being salted away and filtered into commercial banks, that pensioners are being robbed by banks, by firms, by "pyramids." "It is no longer tolerable...to put up with such violations," the president thundered in the familiar style of an oblast party committee leader.

But even these words were perceived with the customary indifference by many people. As well as with truly justified mistrust. Fine, ahead of the elections and for the sake of garnering votes, the state treasury, the president, and no doubt the "slush fund" being set up by our own and foreign moneybags will put together money to plug the most obvious gaping holes. They will plug some, but what about the others? There are, after all, countless such holes. Let us assume that there will be compensation for the population's savings (very electoral!), but it is easy to guess that this compensation for losses will immediately trigger inflation. The wild market is not asleep, it watches every purse — as soon as it gets filled, prices leap upwards.... It is already obvious to each and every one that the hypothetical money promised from the rostrum will not have any commodity backing, or at least no backing by domestically produced commodities.

If there is no production, there will be no tax revenues which keep the treasury and the budget in being. The president and the government are banking on a tougher tax policy. And yet the tax police has been in existence for a long time now, it seems to be strict and meticulous, but one-half of the tax revenues still remain "on paper," they are not collected. So where will the money be found if a source for filling the state's coffers like the export duties on energy raw materials will, on Mr. Camdessus' insistence, be reduced? Ship more abroad, they say, and then we will give you larger loans more quickly.

It is said that hope makes a good breakfast but a poor supper. There may be some gullible people in our country — even though their numbers have rather diminished over the last few years — who might even believe that the "supper" will be guaranteed. There may be, but not too many. Only too many people remember how many promises of all sorts of "stabilizations" have been made by our authorities. Anyone who has carefully monitored their actions and documents will probably recall how, in mid-1992 which was Gaydar's year, we heard bombastic promises about the "deepening of reforms." The bubble burst there and then, but the authorities did promise us the good life for last year, 1995. Did you enjoy it? Then our helmsmen said that it was necessary to arrive at a balance between domestically produced and imported commodities. Did they arrive at it?

There is a triumphant sound to B. Yeltsin's words that he has supposedly changed the minds of our lenders who were earlier unwilling to lend us money for the solution of social tasks. Now, apparently, there will be investments "in man," something that has been done abroad for a long time now. This means that this year, given favorable circumstances, we will receive about $4 billion from the IMF. Let us assume that this mess of porridge is spread around — will it satiate us or not? Or could it suddenly turn out to be just a carrot dangling before the donkey's eyes? Or maybe even small change being thrown at the greedy multitudes during the ruler's coronation?

Russia: Yeltsin: Optimism on Democratic Support, Concern Over Cuba

LD2802113896 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1107 GMT 28 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Feb 28 (Interfax) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin has said that the nearer the presidential elections, the more actively democratic forces in Russia will support him.

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After the publication of the annual presidential address to the Federal Assembly, "even those democrats who are in opposition saw democratic essence in this document. Whom else can they support in this case?" Yeltsin said after the official ceremony of farewell with Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka in the Kremlin Wednesday.

Yeltsin expressed concern due to the sharpening of the Cuban-American relations. The United States "should not be in a hurry to announce sanctions against Cuba. One should thoroughly examine everything," he said. He also said that Russian-Cuban relations are improving. Supplies of Russian goods to Cuba are expected to be increased in the near future.

Russia: Yeltsin's Campaigning Advantages Assessed

MM2802120996 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 3

[Article by political observer Lev Korneshov: "Why Do They Take Us For Fools?..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] The election race has begun. But the presidential candidates started on unequal terms.

As SELSKAYA ZHIZN (and not only it) suggested, Boris Nikolayevich's "doubts" about whether he should run for a second presidential term proved to be no more than a propagandistic intrigue or, to put it simply, a political affectation. It is worth thinking about why this was necessary, because no step is taken accidentally in such major political battles. Most probably it was necessary to buy some time to devise election tactics and strategy, regroup forces, and draw up a plan for the whole election campaign. When this had been done the president declared his intention in the place most convenient to him — his native Sverdlovsk, now called Yekaterinburg. And at the most convenient time for him, when passions over the State Duma elections are subsiding and a whole four months are left to the new election....

Who Is Putting His Left Foot Forward There?

The president ended his speech at a meeting with Yekaterinburg inhabitants in a melancholy yet upbeat way: "We are tired, but together we shall overcome!"

Together we shall overcome?

My God, where have I heard that before? No, it can't be....

Venceremos? We shall overcome? Whom?

This is derived from Comandante Fidel Castro's propaganda formula and exhortation at the time of his fantastic popularity. I heard him in Havana: "Venceremos!" and "Motherland or death!"

No, something is not quite right, "impassioned" though it is. Anything can happen here. After all, didn't the Russia Is Our Home bloc inscribe its banners with Simonov's famous line calling for the enemy's annihilation: "If you hold your home dear...." Suddenly a crowd at fever pitch and burning automobiles appeared, and the sound of shop windows being smashed by bricks was heard....

At last I have remembered! "Together we shall overcome!" — I heard that in the sixties and seventies in West Berlin, Bonn, and Paris at stormy youth rallies which often culminated in the smashing of glass, fights, and clashes with the police. It was the cry of the leftist gauchists and extremist groupings which demanded the smashing of everybody and everything and the destruction, as they put it, of "bourgeois" values and morals and "decrepit" bourgeois culture. When the gauchists organized vociferous rallies and demonstrations, respectable citizens battened down the hatches at home.

Of course the president is not obliged to remember or to know all this, but should he "keep" his historically illiterate speech writers?

It is a very insidious thing — an inaccurate word, a slogan in former usage, publicly uttered. Like an ill-considered action.

Time To Hand Out the Elephants....

There used to be a custom in Africa: When they came to power rulers would give elephants to their retinue. We are more civilized people; we have no need of elephants, camels, and other animals; we have rubles and dollars.

Suddenly I imagined CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] presidential candidate Gennadiy Zyuganov arriving in his home town and granting their requests on the spot during meetings with people from the same area:

— $10 million to develop production at a confectionery factory;
— seven billion rubles [R] to develop children's food production;
— R5 billion for a veterans' hospital;
— R50 billion to clear the state's debt to the subway system....

Whereupon a man in a prosecutor's uniform goes up to Zyuganov and says: "Hold it, my good man, it is not your money you are giving away but the state's, the people's...." And he mutters something to the effect that it is good to give presents to people from one's

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native area but there are thousands of towns and cities in Russia and they are all in poverty and debt up to their eyes.

No, it is impossible to imagine it.... But the June election will show whether the inhabitants of the Urals have been bought by Boris Nikolayevich's generosity or whether they have assessed the one-shot sops on their merits.

Currently billions and trillions are being allocated feverishly and hastily to miners, scientists, and all who can no longer shout or write, having lost their strength, crushed by the pressure of poverty and hopelessness. It is as if the gentlemen rulers have woken up and opened their eyes....

But why exactly was it necessary in the first place to drive hundreds of thousands of people to desperation, only to toss them coppers and assignats now?

The president has reported that wage arrears will be paid in March, that he has "found the money." He liked this idea so much that he repeated it several times, stressing that the money would be paid not "in June" but "in March."

He has found it!

In that case permit me to ask why it was not found earlier. And where it was "found," if that is not a secret; where were these trillions gathering dust while people were starving and striking, demanding what they had legitimately earned? What kind of an economy is it, what kind of economic management system is it when trillions can be found under the counter so easily?

The following question has been up in the air for a long time now.... Are we in the market? Do market laws operate in our country? Because in market economy conditions a firm that does not pay wages is declared bankrupt. Does that mean that we are living in a bankrupt state?

Latest "Secret" Weapon in Power Struggle

I asked my clear-thinking friend and colleague a question which all Russians are now asking themselves: "Who will win the election?" He immediately cut in:

"Money!"

It looks as if this is the latest "secret" weapon on which the presidential team, which has started showing such concern for the people, is now relying. It has been learned from well-informed sources that in the near future there will be edicts and decisions aimed at improving social protection for Russians. Even now it is clear where the resources for implementing them will come from: They will be taken away from some people and given to others, because the economy is not working. Russians are frightened by the terrible things that could happen if they elect the Communist Zyuganov as president. But there is no need to be frightened: The CPRF's election program has been published, it is well known, and even the most inveterate and malicious critic will not find a single extremist point in it. But as for what to expect from the current ruling team in the heat of the power struggle, that remains to be seen....

The president explained his decision to run for a second term by saying that he wants to carry the reforms through to the end. But what is the specific essence of these reforms and to what end must they be carried through? Let us hope that we will be able to find out from the president's other election speeches, because so far it is a closely guarded secret. People would dearly like to know whether it will require new sacrifices.

"We are stronger than our own disappointments and doubts!" the president proclaimed in upbeat mood. This royal "we" is very out of place here. Because hundreds of thousands of unfortunate, poverty-stricken, unemployed, and desperate people are in no mood for doubts and disappointments, having been thrown onto a human waste dump by the "reformers." Is that putting it too strongly? But it is the truth.... Does the president know how the once jargonistic acronym "BICh" is now being interpreted? Former member of the intelligentsia [byvshiy intelligentnyy chelovek].... But none of us wants to be "former." We have not survived the war, a blockade, an earthquake, and other disasters in order to sit around half-starved.

Long Live the Bloc of Honest and Principled People!

It seems that a time of theatricalized political performances has come to Russia.

Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy] weds his long-standing wife in front of the television cameras.

Yegor Timurovich [Gaydar] delivers passionate public monologues from which it is impossible to grasp exactly what he wants.

When meeting Boris Nikolayevich at the subway in Yekaterinburg a choir of old women devoutly sings a holy prayer containing, among other things, the words: "Deliver us, Lord, from evil." So he must; they have found something to sing about.

Eduard Rossel proposes at the end of a meeting with the president: "Now let us stand up and applaud." Everybody stands up in concert, including a crowd of honored and people's artists who accompanied the president on his trip.... And they applaud.

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Meanwhile in Chechnya 20 young Russian guys were killed and another 30 went missing in the last 96 hours alone....

When we go to vote, let us remember those who have died, we know not what for. They will be remembered for eternity, those who have fallen in a war they did not start that is hated by everybody.

In recent years the people have won the right to choose the country's leader from among several contenders for this by no means theatrical role. This right must now be fully exercised; it must not be surrendered to anybody, just as people must not treat it fecklessly.

None of us wants a return to the past. But it could return to us not only through the efforts of ultraleftists but also in the form of former oblast party committee secretaries who have armed themselves with "democratic" and populist slogans. We know from history that reaction has many faces and tends to be mimicked. This is especially true when the anticommunist card, which has been played many times before, is beaten.

The campaign to reelect the current president is assuming impressive proportions. It is not just a question of Boris Nikolayevich's generous gifts to people from his native area. If we adopt a formal approach to this, he has a 100-billion personal fund, but it is not a fund for aiding people from his native area.

Gennadiy Zyuganov, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, and other candidates do not have such a fund. Nor can they remove an awkward television leader from his job with a stroke of the pen by accusing him of "painting things black." I am sure that none of them would have done that.

More importantly, none of them can subordinate the might of the executive branch to the aims of his election campaign, muster "money men" (currently Anatoliy Chubays is engaged in this work for candidate No. 1) under his banners, or rely on a gigantic bureaucratic apparatus....

Yet let us remember that it is not money, nor emerging financial barons and "privatizers" who have taken their cut, nor officials who will have the final say: Millions of Russians will have it. The other day I was astonished to read on a board along the Yaroslavl railroad the announcement: "Wanted: Drug and Alcohol Abuse Expert for Russia." I took it to mean: Russia must wake up, open its eyes up, and start to act.

...Incidentally, the leftists-gauchists did not win that time.

Russia: Former KGB Official Views Intelligence Activity

AU2702151796 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Feb 96 p 7

[Interview with Leonid Shebarshin, former head of the KGB 1st Department, by Gabor Horvath in Moscow; date not given: "How Far Does Moscow's Hand Reach Today?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Horvath] Are there any rules on when the secret services can reveal the identity of their personnel?

[Shebarshin] There is no rule whatsoever for this. In my view, the names must not be made public under any circumstances and at any time. No secret service can afford to disregard this, because if it does, nobody will cooperate with it anymore.

[Horvath] Even if the political regime changes in the meantime?

[Shebarshin] The solutions differ individually but, in my opinion, a state that wants to protect its interests sticks to the rule that one should not publish the names of the people who acted on the state's behalf, irrespective of the prevailing regime.

State Interests

[Horvath] Does this also apply to those who tool on the obligation to keep their own colleagues under surveillance?

[Shebarshin] One should not drag this issue onto the moral level or approach it from the viewpoint of human rights. The bitter truth is that the state has secret services that cannot exist without undercover members and agents. These people work for the benefit of the state and, therefore, it is the obligation of the state to take care of their security.

[Horvath] To what extent was blackmail used in recruiting members for the network of internal agents?

[Shebarshin] I was not dealing with the domestic network, but, as far as I can tell, the principle of volunteering was observed in most cases. I have always been of the opinion that one cannot rely on agents recruited through blackmail and that one can only work badly under contstraint. This was also a rule in the foreign intelligence department that I headed.

[Horvath] In connection with the Oleksy affair, it was repeatedly mentioned in Moscow that the KGB was under orders not to recruit agents in the former socialist countries at all, especially not among leading politicians. Have there been exceptions nevertheless?

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[Shebarshin] Until the end of September 1991, when I left the services, I had no knowledge of any such case. We observed the rule very precisely and strictly. This was not only an order, but also one of the basic principles of intelligence activity.

[Horvath] Does the fact that a high-ranking officer of the 1st Department worked in Poland and got friendly with one of the leadership members contradict all this?

[Shebarshin] No, it does not. All of us worked abroad, as they say "undercover." I also worked as an adviser at a Soviet embassy, and I had a lot of friends and contacts with whom we shared information, but they were not my agents: They did not receive money from me and they did not provide secret information. I was simply chatting with political figures.

[Horvath] What is the difference between an "agent" and a "contact"?

[Shebarshin] There are some differences. An agent observes a certain discipline, receives money, and contacts are held in secret. An agent knows that he is violating the laws of his country, but he is deliberately cooperating with a foreign intelligence body, and, no matter what he does, he is always aware of the fact that all this is illegal. None of these factors is present in the case of a "contact."

[Horvath] According to Czech newspapers, there are 400 Russian agents in the Czech lands, and many Poles see Moscow's hand in the Olesky affair. You wrote a book entitled "Moscow's Hands." How long was this hand before 1991, and how long is it today?

[Shebarshin] As for the Czech lands, I like the adventures of soldier Svejk very much. I am happy to see that the Czechs have preserved their sense of humor. So much for there being 400 Russian intelligence agents there. In my time, Moscow's hand was indeed long: We were present almost everywhere in the world. Of course, our possibilities differed from country to country, but there was no place in the world without our presence. I do not know what the situation is today, but it seems to me already then that there are some regions where we do not have much to do. We had already started reducing personnel in 1990 and 1991.

[Horvath] Is it possible that Russia has a wide intelligence network somewhere that is capable of influencing the elections in the respective country?

[Shebarshin] Not at all. I have some experience. Even if I am no longer close to the events, I can evaluate the situation. Russia does not have such an opportunity. Today's relevant campaigns only have a political goal.

CIA Colleagues

[Horvath] Are the secret services capable of influencing the long-term policies of individual countries at all?

[Shebarshin] This depends on the given country, its domestic conditions, its stability, its policy, the prestige of its leadership, and many other factors. However, the secret services are not capable of playing a decisive role anywhere. Perhaps, they can correct certain events or help some individuals, but the secret services find it hard to influence the general situation of a given country even if they have huge resources at their disposal. Take, for example, Haiti, a country that lies in the immediate vicinity of the United States, or Panama. The Americans had very good contacts. However, they were forced to send troops to Haiti, Panama, and Grenada too. So the secret services have limited opportunities. I would not idealize them. I know our former opportunities, just like those of the Americans and other countries, from practice: The secret service can only have a share of its country's concrete efforts.

[Horvath] However, the Oleksy affair has stirred up all of Poland. Can one imagine similar scandals in other central European countries?

[Shebarshin] You had better ask the political figures in the given countries. I suspect that my former colleagues in the CIA play a certain role in these events. In my view, the issue should also be examined from this viewpoint, because there is certain interest on the other side of the ocean in generating such campaigns. I do not exclude the possibility of such scenarios being played in the future.

[Horvath] Many people claim that some protagonists of current Russian political life also emerged from the secret service "laboratories".....

[Shebarshin] No doubt about it: the CIA laboratories. However, given the fact that I do not possess the relevant documents, I will not name names. But I am certain, and I know whom I am talking about.

[Horvath] Could scandalous facts in the Russian presidential election campaign be made public?

[Shebarshin] I do not think that really big scandals might emerge. Russian society has been touched by so many shocks recently that its sensitivity threshold is rather high. I can hardly imagine a real scandal here. These things somehow disappear in sand here. The press, the government, and the politicians make deliberate use of this. We have become used to everything, and it is hard to surprise us. It is hard to stir up a scandal that would really influence events.

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Russia: Baburin Urges 'Broad' Coalition of Parties

964F1149A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Feb 96 p 2

[Interview with Sergey Baburin, deputy chairman of the Duma, by Mikhail Karpov; place and date not given: "Baburin Is For a Single Opposition Candidate: The Deputy Chairman of the Duma Is Sure That the Reunification of the Russian Federation and Belorussia in a New State Has a Geopolitical Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

From NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Files

Sergey Nikolayevich Baburin was born in 1959 in Semipalatinsk. He is a graduate of the Law Faculty of Omsk University. Following Army service in Afghanistan, he enrolled in graduate studies at Leningrad University. As of 1988 he was dean of the Law Faculty of Omsk University. As of 1990, a people's deputy of Russia and coordinator of the Russia parliamentary faction. In July 1991 he was nominated for the position of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia. A founder of the Russian National Union. In 1993 he became chairman of a subcommittee of the Committee for Legislation of the Supreme Soviet of Russia. The same year he was elected a deputy of the State Duma by territorial constituency in the city of Omsk. The sponsor of the creation in the Fifth Duma of the Russia's Way group of deputies. Elected to the Sixth Duma from the Government by the People bloc, he obtained the post of its deputy chairman. He is married with three sons.

[Karpov] Sergey Nikolayevich, from the chair of an ordinary deputy of the Fifth Duma you have moved into the chair of deputy chairman of the sixth. What are your feelings in this position, and what has changed for you personally with this change of position?

[Baburin] First, working with my associates and fellow thinkers is easier. Whereas in my office before there was a babel of noise and 10-15 persons would in a matter of minutes throng the small patch, now, while having in principle retained the same assistants, I have larger premises and can, accordingly, discharge more efficiently both my deputy's duties and the additional duties I now have as deputy chairman of the Duma. So I believe that there have been organizationally useful changes. And on the political level I have more opportunities today, of course, to achieve the goals I formerly proclaimed when running for deputy, and not even of the previous Duma but for people's deputy of the RSFSR.

[Karpov] Immediately following the tallying of the results of the parliamentary elections, you raised the question of the creation of a broad popular front, under the aegis of the CPRF, what is more, which would afford the opposition—you yourself evaluated it as such—an opportunity, albeit "fragile," to obtain a majority in parliament. Has this broad popular coalition been created and has advantage been taken of this opportunity?

[Baburin] I have to say with satisfaction that such an attempt is being made. I will not pretend that there is nothing, consultations have begun, and I would like to mention, what is more, the CPRF leadership's understanding of something that is very important: that the opposition will have a chance of victory only with a broad coalition and that any opposition party, even the largest, will, in fact, be deprived of a chance of victory if party separatism prevails. But I would not want to sum up the results as a whole just yet. I personally could make an assessment as to whether success in the creation of a bloc has been achieved around the end of February.

[Karpov] What's it like for you to work with Duma Chairman Gennadiy Seleznev? What do you think about the fact that both chambers of parliament are now headed, let's put it this way, by forces that are not pro-president and are by no means presidential proteges? Is there not under such conditions a danger of a serious conflict between the executive and the legislature?

[Baburin] If you recall, the conflict between the representative authority and the executive—between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov—was a conflict between personalities of the same political spectrum, for Khasbulatov started out as a furious representative and, essentially, protege of Yeltsin, protege of Democratic Russia. So no one can ever give any guarantees here.

I would note that Seleznev today is, truly, the personification of the left alternative to what is being done. It was not without the participation of myself and our Government by the People group of deputies as a whole that he became chairman of the State Duma, incidentally.

Stroyev is an exceptionally interesting figure. I would call your attention to the way in which he was elected chairman. For a necessary majority of members of the Federation Council essentially cast their votes for him. Those who would like to preserve that which is valuable that has been created in past years—and these valuable assets cannot be ignored—and to revive that which is valuable and important that has been destroyed in recent years united around Stroyev. This also needs to be recognized. And such varied forces, having united, rested their choice on Stroyev's candidacy. So he is not an antipresident and not a pro-president but a truly universal politician.

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[Karpov] In the language of the "Pravdistas," "elections behind us, elections in front of us." You, seemingly, have been urging a single candidate of the forces of the left. Yet more than enough figures are being nominated from the CPRF alone, nor is there unity in your bloc. Nikolay Ryzhkov, for example, has maintained that he is the most ideal candidate of the left forces. Svyatoslav Fedorov has no intention of abandoning the struggle. Lebed also has flown, please excuse, perhaps, the liberty, to your bloc. I have never heard about your ambitions, it is true, but you once said that unless unity were achieved within this bloc of left forces, you would propose Svetlana Goryacheva for president. But this is an obviously hopeless option, Sergey Nikolayevich.

[Baburin] There are no obviously hopeless options. It is important how people work with these options. There are currently four presidential candidates in our Government by the People group. Aside from Svyatoslav Fedorov and Aleksandr Lebed, whom you mentioned, there are Stanislav Govorukhin and Vladimir Bryntsalov. I believe that there could be other candidates also, but the idea of a single candidate is gaining the upper hand, all the same. I will do what I can to promote this.

[Karpov] Do you feel that you are not alone in this thought and that there are some other people also who are prepared to renounce personal ambitions and support your idea of a single candidate for the sake of a win?

[Baburin] There are, of course. In the ranks of the CPRF included. At the consultations with the leaders of the Communist Party I have called their attention primarily to the following problem: What kind of single candidate of the bloc are we talking about if several candidates are already being nominated from one party, which will be the predominant force in the bloc. But there is still a serious chance that the split will be overcome, for it is not obligatory, what is more, to seek to achieve this at the very first moment. I do not rule out the fact that some candidates, having registered, will subsequently withdraw their candidacy in support of a candidate common to all.

[Karpov] Is this moral?

[Baburin] It is the political palette.

[Karpov] Politics is amoral, that is, in your opinion?

[Baburin] I do not see anything at odds with morals here. On the contrary, these are very high morals: to withdraw one's candidacy to maintain unity in search of common success.

[Karpov] Yes, but then the people who supported you would find themselves deceived or disappointed?

[Baburin] The candidate should first of all confer here with those who have supported him. Because, I agree, there are two-sided commitments here. Which is why at the elections to the State Duma and in the name of the creation of the bloc I sacrificed first place on the bloc list and proposed that it be headed by Nikolay Ryzhkov and that I would be one of his associates, although the Russian National Union was the most significant force in this bloc. Today we are preparing for a congress of the ROS [Russian National Union], it is scheduled for 24 February, and we will determine at the congress the attitude of the entire party toward the presidential elections, the presidential candidates, and possible coalitions or blocs.

[Karpov] You advocated total deputy immunity in the Constitutional Court. What prompted you? What were your arguments?

[Baburin] I would emphasize two points. First, there is not total immunity, and no one would ever advocate it. I advocated support for the political liberties of the deputies as the spokesmen for the will of the electorate. The second point I would like to emphasize: I was speaking not even as a deputy but as an official authorized representative of the State Duma. I defended together with Deputy Mizulina, my colleague from the Yabloko faction, the fact that the rules of law on the status of a deputy correspond to the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Why? Certainly, to be brief, the president demanded that deputies might be arraigned on criminal charges without the consent of the chambers. That deputy immunity not extend to office and residential premises, office and personal transportation, business correspondence, and means of communication of the deputies and so forth. What does this mean? It is primarily a blow at the constituents, for whom the deputy and his assistance are, perhaps, his last remaining hope.

What is meant by deputies' official correspondence? It means people's interests, the interests of people who, perhaps, do not confide to other officials what they write to the deputy.

Placing the deputies under supervision from this angle is, I understand, a great temptation for the executive. But what is most important, of course, is the fact that all this corresponds to Russia's historical traditions. None of this is an invention even of the past two or three years.

It is not only the deputies who have immunity, let us not forget that a president has immunity also. We are currently full of presidents. From the president of the Russian Federation through the presidents of

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the republics. The former autonomies. The judicial corps has this immunity also. If we are starting to call in question the immunity of the deputies and the element of immunity, why, then, not encroach on the judicial corps? As far as I know, certain forces have such plans also. And the purpose is the same—both to eliminate the judicial arm and to make the corps of deputies dependent on the arbitrary action of officialdom. I do not believe that any of this is being done fortuitously on the threshold of elections. Remove judges' immunity, and where is their independence, where is the deputies' independence? Can you imagine what placing a judge's correspondence and telephone conversations under supervision would mean?

[Karpov] But, on the other hand, while preventing a limitation of your own rights you are advocating a limitation of the rights of the president, a limitation of his competence and prerogatives.

[Baburin] I have heard that something of the sort is in preparation. I do not share the opinion that all appointments in the cabinet should pass exclusively through the Duma. Because it would be an absurdity were we to return to a situation where parliament considers from day to day the biographical data of some government officials. And decides whether or not to appoint them to this position or the other. But parliament should have the right of supervision of key appointments, power appointments primarily. This is an elementary function: control of various forms, primarily via money. Control of the expenditure of funds and, second, via the selection of personnel.

Both diplomatic personnel and minister candidates are not in the majority of parliaments of the world reconciled via parliament in general. They are reconciled with the pertinent committees. The recommendations of these committees are adopted or rejected by the presidents. There is nothing special about this. I, incidentally, in order to somehow balance the changes in legislative technique and legislation would also agree to ministers retaining their deputy's mandates, as was the case in the previous Duma.

[Karpov] This is quite a bold assertion....

[Baburin] It would, I believe, be to the benefit of a strengthening of the stability of the state. When a person who is a minister has realized that he could as a sign of protest against, say, a decision of the head of the government or someone else leave his position and return once again to parliament. For when a person is appointed to a ministry from the ranks of deputies, he has immediately burned his bridges. And even the head of the government could resign more tranquilly today knowing that he would remain a parliamentary deputy for six months and could then once again take charge of the government.

[Karpov] A certainty that it is necessary to create some counterweight to Moscow's political intrigues from groups representing the interests of the regions has always been heard in your speeches, I believe. On the other hand, you are disposed, seemingly, not so much toward the reconstitution of the former USSR but toward the creation of some state formation that unites the now independent republics on the post-Soviet territory. How are these two aspirations to be combined? On the one hand disengagement, on the other, centralization? Centrifugal and centripetal?

[Baburin] Truly, my positions here were determined quite a long time ago. I believe that broken vessels cannot be glued together, they need to be remelted into new ones. Only then will the new vessel be capable of retaining moisture and preserving its qualities. For this reason the criminal destruction of the Soviet Union does not and should not force us to return once more to the forms of the USSR. A new state via integration and, primarily, the reunification of Belarus and the Russian Federation in a single state has, I am sure, a geopolitical future.

[Karpov] But why not with the great Ukrainian brother?

[Baburin] We need to unite with those who are already prepared for this, who inwardly aspire to this. If there are problems somewhere, it is necessary to simply dot the "i's" and make things clear, and then, I am sure, integration will accelerate. Both Ukraine and Kazakhstan will agree to this because this will be predetermined by the development of the economy, the unity of cultures should play its part, and so forth.

As deputy chairman of the State Duma with duties pertaining to coordination of work within the CIS included, I now have, I believe, extra opportunities for furthering the achievement of these goals.

Russia: CPRF Faction Legislative Initiatives

964F1162A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Feb 96 p 2

["List of Main Legislative Initiatives of the CPRF Faction for 1996"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Communist Party [CPRF] faction proposes, for inclusion in the plan of legislative activity of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly for 1996, examination of the following draft versions of the most essential federal constitutional and federal laws.

In the sphere of state structuring:

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—on the procedure for adoption and publication of laws on amendments to the Constitution;
—on the introduction of amendments to the existing Russian Federation Constitution;
—on the Constitutional Assembly of the Russian Federation;
—on the introduction of changes to the Law on Deputy Status (on imperative mandate, on voter instructions, on the accountability of deputies to voters and public associations, on the right to recall deputies, on the limitation of deputy immunity in protecting his rights related exclusively to the execution of deputy responsibilities);
—on the procedure for assumption of office of a newly elected president of the Russian Federation;
—on the Russian Federation Government;
—on the Security Council of the Russian Federation;
—on the status of the administration of the Russian Federation president;
—on the procedure for adoption and execution of edicts of the Russian Federation president;
—on the judicial system of the Russian Federation;
—on notary services and the legal profession;
—on the High Intellectual Council of the Russian Federation;
—on the mandatory declaration of income and property by deputies and civil service employees;
—on general organizational principles of the system of organs of state authority of Russian Federation entities;
—a package of laws prescribing the financial and economic principles of local self-government in the Russian Federation and ensuring its legal protection;
—on surmounting the negative consequences of denunciation of the Treaty on Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet;
—on the state symbology of the Russian Federation.

In the sphere of the economy:

—on the concept of economic and social development of the Russian Federation for the period 1996-2020;
—the Land Code of the Russian Federation;
—the Forestry Code of the Russian Federation;
—the Tax Code of the Russian Federation;
—a package of legislative enactments aimed at preventing the dissipation abroad of national capital;
—on amending the Law on Currency Regulation and Currency Control;
—on amending legislation on bankruptcy;
—on amendments and additions to the Law on Privatization of Available Housing Assets in the RSFSR;
—on additions to the Law on Joint-Stock Companies;
—on amending the Law on Budgetary Structure and the Budget Process;
—on procedure for the establishment and operation of state nonbudget funds;
—on the reestablishment and protection of rights of the state to bonds and securities, other rights arising in the privatization process, and rights arising as a result of the transfer of centralized and noncentralized state assets and property to the charter capital of banks and commercial structures;
—on state defense requisitions;
—on commercial activity;
—on state regulation of the operation of enterprises in the energy complex;
—on state regulation of the operation of transportation and communications enterprises;
—on safety in the provision of foodstuffs;
—on state regulation and support of agro-industrial production;
—on science and science and technology policy;
—on the priority development of sectors of production that utilize advanced technologies;
—on production cooperatives;
—on amendments and additions to the Law on Insurance;
—on amendments and additions to the Law on Natural Monopolies;
—on principles of valuation activity in the Russian Federation.

In the sphere of social policy:

—the Code of Labor Legislation of the Russian Federation;
—on the subsistence minimum in the Russian Federation;
—on the procedure for indexing and increasing the minimum wage, pensions, and allowances;
—on minimum state social standards in the Russian Federation;
—on compensation for population expenditures on food products, housing and municipal services, and transportation;
—on the introduction of amendments and additions to the Law on Population Employment in the Russian Federation;
—on increased liability for nonpayment of wages and the procedure for effecting compensation for damages incurred in this regard;
—on mandatory insurance with respect to job-related accidents and occupational illnesses;
—on guaranteeing citizens' rights to unrestricted movement within the Russian Federation;
—on social protection for inhabitants of the Far North and equivalent regions of the Russian Federation;
—on veterans;

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—on state support for parents whose children died in the service of the Armed Forces or internal affairs organs;
—on the principles of state support for the family;
—on social security for the family and children;
—on state support for large families;
—on the introduction of amendments and additions to the Law on State Benefits to Citizens With Children;
—on supplemental social protection measures related to the job placement and discharge of women;
—on state support for physical training and sports;
—on tourism;
—on the foundations of state policy in the protection of children's rights;
—on social protection for disabled children and people disabled from infancy;
—on the principles of state youth policy in the Russian Federation;
—on the federal set of textbooks;
—on preschool education;
—on intellectual property in the Russian Federation;
—on the status of scientific researcher and his social guarantees;
—on medicinal preparations;
—on the circulation of narcotics and psychotropic drugs;
—on measures to counteract the illegal trafficking of narcotics, psychotropic substances, and base drugs from which such substances are manufactured.

In the sphere of guaranteeing citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms:

—on the human rights representative in the Russian Federation;
—on information security;
—on the mass media;
—on safeguarding the Russian language and Russian culture;
—on political parties;
—on labor collectives;
—on assemblies, demonstrations, rallies, marches, and picketing.

In the sphere of the fight against crime and consolidation of law and order:

—the Criminal Code;
—the Criminal-Procedural Code;
—the Criminal-Executive Code;
—on the fight against organized crime;
—on the fight against corruption;
—on weapons;
—on protection of the rights of minors, prevention of their neglect, and measures to prevent violations of the law by minors;
—on the declaration of state of emergency in the Russian Federation and individual localities within it;
—on the state of martial law;
—on a unified state system for averting and eliminating emergency situations.

In the sphere of foreign policy and the country's defense:

—on the posture of the Russian Federation regarding plans for NATO expansion and related issues of the country's national security;
—on defense;
—on military service and the military obligation;
—on the main orientations of the program for development of national legislation and legal-applicative measures in connection with entry of the Russian Federation into the Council of Europe;
—on joining the Council of Europe Charter and the General Agreement on Privileges and Immunities of the Council of Europe and its protocols.

Federal Assembly

Russia: Legislative, Regulatory Documents 18-24 Feb

96P50053A

[FBIS Report] The following is a listing of Russian legislation recently published in the press of the Russian Federation compiled by FBIS. Numbers within parens indicate approximate wordage. Entries followed by the notation "Text" have been translated into English and are available in FBIS publications.

SECTION I: ECONOMIC LEGISLATION (EXPORT-IMPORT, BANKING, PRIVATIZATION, AUCTIONS, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT)

Government 25 November 1995 Directives Nos. 1631, 1632, And 1633 On Privatization Of Abakan, Arkhangelsk, And Irkutsk Airports Respectively. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 5) (100/100/100)

Government 16 December Decree No. 1238 Deleting Items From List Of Products Whose Import Into Russia Is Subject To Quotas. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 6) (100)

Government 31 December Decree No. 1302 Amending Statute On Licensing Of Industrial Fisheries. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 6) (200)

Government 31 December Decree No. 1305 On The Sale Of Output By 'Buryatzoloto' Gold-Producing

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Joint-Stock Company. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 6) (200)

Government 13 January Decree No. 28 Approving Appended (But Not Published) Action Plan To Improve Status Of Children In The Russian Federation In 1995-1997, Plus Molodtsova Commentary. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 4) (350/1500)

Government 16 January Directive No. 52 Allocating R3 Billion To 'Sarapulskiy Elektrogeneratornyy Zavod' To Boost Its Civilian Output, Plus Krasnova Commentary, Datelined Izhevsk, Incorporating Interview With Plant General Director Storonkin. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Feb 96 p 1) (100/500)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 20 January Government Decree No. 52 On State Support For Russian Fisheries Sector And Stabilization Of Socioeconomic Situation In Regions Of Far East In 1996, Accompanied By Linkov Commentary. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Feb 96 p 3) (200/700) (Text)

Government 20 January Decree No. 56 Approving Appended (But Not Published) Statute Or State Grain Inspectorate, Plus Sharov Commentary Incorporating Interview With First Deputy Chief State Grain Inspector Olkhovoy. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 4) (1600/1500)

Government 27 January Decree No. 67 On Amendments And Additions To Statute On Procedure For Payment Of State Benefits To Citizens With Children. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 4) (500)

Government 2 February Decree No. 92 Amending Decree No. 1089 Of 5 November And Adding Air Traffic Control Organizations To List Of Enterprises Whose Power Supplies Cannot Be Cut Off. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 2) (100)

Government 2 February Decree No. 99 On Flag Of Fisheries Committee Chairman And Fishing Fleet Ships. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 3) (200)

Government 2 February Directive No. 131 Approving Appended (But Not Published) Statute On 'Rostselmash' Supervisory Council Plus Sharov Commentary. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 4) (100/700)

Government 7 February Decree No. 135 'On Measures To Stabilize The Economic Situation Of The Russian Federation Agro-Industrial Complex In 1996' Plus Gavrilyuk Commentary On It. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Feb 96 pp 4-5) (9000/800)

Government 8 February Decree No. 117 On Composition Of Government's Commission For Economic Reform. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 3) (350) (Text)

Government 8 February Decree No. 119 On Setting Up 'Polar Geological And Extracting Company' Open-Type Joint-Stock Company. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 5) (800)

Government 8 February Government Decree No. 123 'On Federal Program For Development Of Exports.' (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 4) (250) Text Of Federal Program For Development Of Exports. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 pp 4-6) (13,000) (Text)

Government 8 February Decree No. 124 Approving And Submitting For President's Approval Appended (But Not Published) List Of Nuclear Material And Technologies Subject To Export Controls. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 3) (150)

Government 8 February Decree No. 127 On Licensing Of Production And Wholesale Of Alcoholic Beverages With Appended Statute Approved Under Aforesaid Decree. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 12) (150/2500)

Government 8 February Decree No. 128 Approving Procedure For Declaration Of Production And Circulation Of Ethyl Alcohol And Alcoholic Products With Appended "Procedure" And Blank Declaration Forms. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 12) (200/900/1000)

Government 8 February Decree No. 129 Approving Procedures For Allocating Quotas For Purchase Of Ethyl Alcohol, With Attached "Procedure" And Statute On Procedure For Allocation Of Quotas For Import Of Ethyl Alcohol Made From Edible Raw Materials And Alcoholic Products. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 13) (120/1200/1500)

Government 8 February Decree No. 130 On Quotas For Importation Of Ethyl Alcohol And Alcohol Products, Plus Soskov Article Commenting On Package Of Presidential And Government Documents On State Regulation Of Production And Sales Of Ethyl Alcohol And Alcohol Products. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 4) (1500/1600)

Government 12 February Decree No. 140 On Measures To Restrict The Growth Of Prices For Goods And

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Services Produced By Natural Monopolies. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 3) (2000)

Government 12 February Decree No. 142 Approving And Submitting For President's Approval Appended (But Not Published) List Of Dual Purpose Material And Technologies Subject To Export Controls. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 3) (150)

Government 13 February Directive No. 176 Accepting Proposal To Privatize Amur Oblast Geological Enterprise. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 3) (150)

Yeltsin 14 February Edict No. 194 Introducing Amendments And Additions To Earlier Edict On Premises Of Russian Federation Comptroller's Office. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 3) (600)

Yeltsin 19 February Edict No. 209 On Inspections To Ensure Compliance With Legislation On Wages Payments. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 4) (400)

Yeltsin-Signed 19 February Edict No. 214 On Establishing RF Government Mission In Chechen Republic To Boost Work Of Economic Restoration. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 4) (650)

Yeltsin 21 February Edict No. 218 On Disciplinary Proceedings Against Officials Guilty Of Delaying Payment Of Wages Etc. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Feb 96 p 2) (500) (Text)

Yeltsin-Signed 21 February Edict No. 228 On Control Of Export Of Dual- Purpose Equipment And Materials And Corresponding Technologies Utilized For Nuclear Purposes And The Export Of Which Is Controlled. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 1) (250)

SECTION II: POLITICAL (INTERNATIONAL AND CIS AFFAIRS, ELECTIONS, CRIME, POLLUTION)

Feature Comprising 6 Government Directives (N6s. 27, 28, 87, 124, 1650, And 1708 Dated 12 January, 12 January, 27 January, 2 February, 27 November, And 12 December Respectively) Approving Applications For Foreign Credits For Various Purposes. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 6) (1500)

Government 26 December Decree No. 1286 On Members Of Collegiums Of Federal Organs Of Executive Power. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 6) (600)

Government 31 December Decree No. 1310 On Extraction Of Payment For Discharge Of Effluents And Pollutants In Population Centers' Drainage Systems. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 6) (700)

Government 8 January Directive No. 6 On Implementation Of Federal Law On Ecological Expert Studies. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 5) (300)

Government 7 February Decree No. 113 On Settling The Former USSR's Debt To London Club Of Creditors. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 5) (300) (Text)

Government 8 February Decree No. 118 On Signing Of Loan Agreement With IBRD To Finance Standardization Development Project. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 5) (400)

Government 8 February Decree No. 120 Approving Appended Instruction For Transmission Of Information On The Coordinates Of Geodesical Points And Geographical Objects On RF Territory To Foreign States And International Organizations. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 5) (150/1200)

Soskovets-Signed 12 February Government Directive No. 174 On Russia's Participation In Hannover-96 Industrial Fair. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 4) (200)

Yeltsin 14 February Edict No. 193 Introducing Amendments And Additions To Earlier Edict On Restoration Of Grand Kremlin Palace And Approving Appended (But Not Published) Composition Of Relevant Commission. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 3) (900)

Yeltsin-Signed 14 February Edict No. 199 On Some Measures Concerning Implementation Of Decisions On Handling Legal Claim To Property Of Certain Organizations, Accompanied By Text Of Interim Statute On Procedure For Handling Such Claims. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Feb 96 p 3) (900/3100)

Yeltsin 19 February Decree No. 73 On Setting Up Kronshtadt Sea Cadet Corps. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 4) (200)

Chernomyrdin-Signed 19 February Government Directive No. 211 On Sending RF Government Delegation

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To Ethiopia To Take Part In Ceremonies Marking Centenary Of Battle Of Aduwa. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 4) (150)

Yeltsin-Signed 20 February Federal Law No. 18 On Amending First Part Of RF Civil Code (Concerning Creditors' Rights In Terms Of Liquidated Banks, Credit Institutions). (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 4) (100)

Yeltsin-Signed 23 February Federal Laws Nos. 19 And 20 On Russian Federation's Accession To Council Of Europe Charter And To General Agreement On Privileges And Immunities And Protocols Thereto. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 2) (250)

SECTION III: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Government 18 December Decree No. 1241 On State Control Of Immunobiological Medicines. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 6) (200)

Government 14 February Directive No. 182 On Upcoming Launch Of U.S. 'Astra-1F' Satellite From Baykonur. (Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Feb 96 p 4) (100)

Russia: Duma Sets Up Commission for Chechnya Settlement

LD2702181896 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1503 GMT 27 Feb 96

[By Igor Zhukov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, February 27 (ITAR-TASS) - The State Duma is setting up an interdepartmental commission for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Chechen republic. In addition to deputies of the State Duma and the Federation Council the Commission is to include representatives of the Russian President's administration, of the Russian government and supreme judiciary bodies of the Russian Federation.

The commission is to coordinate the efforts of all branches of the Federal authorities for peaceful settlement of the crisis in Chechnya.

The personal composition of representatives of the Federal commission can be proposed and altered by each of these bodies by a special decision. It is suggested that there will be 16 deputies of the State Duma in the commission, among them Ramazan Abdulatipov, Vladimir Zorin, Sergey Kovalyov and Eduard Vorobyov.

The organisers of the commission believe that its chief tasks should be control over the disengagement of the warring sides and their pooling back to a distance where the use of arms would become pointless and creating a special "security zone" between them in which any military activity of the sides would be prohibited. The commission should also control the storage of heavy and fire arms and work out measures to prevent terrorist acts, subversive actions, hostages taking, stirring up of ethnic strife and other deeds punishable by law.

The commission will control the implementation of humanitarian actions, the exchange of prisoners and hostages under "all-for-all" principle and the release of persons kept at screening stations.

As regards political problems, the commission sees its main task in a full-scale resumption of negotiations between the warring sides at a high political level, assistance to them in implementing agreements reached at these talks, the drafting of a treaty on relationships between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic, the working out of measures to delimit powers between state authorities of the Russian Federation and bodies of the Chechen Republic.

Among the commission's purposes are also the definition of the status of Chechnya, taking into account the willpower of the people of the Chechen Republic and Russia's interests. In addition, the commission sets itself the task of putting a stop to crimes against peaceful people, hostages, prisoners-of-war, and detained persons, whoever may commit such crimes, and strict punishment for those guilty of these crimes.

The interdepartmental commission will hear reports of chiefs of Federal structures as regards priorities and will also work out recommendations to overcome the Chechen crisis. Such recommendations will be referred to the Russian President, the government, the Federation Council and the State Duma of the Federal Assembly, as well as to judiciary authorities of the Russian Federation.

Close interaction of the departmental commission on Peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Chechen Republic with all international organisations interested in an earlier normalisation of the situation in the Northern Caucasus is also envisaged.

Russia: Reported Misuse of Duma Facilities for Election Purposes

MM2802122296 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 96 p 1

[Report by Igor Vandenko: "The Duma Could Become a Campaign Center for the Presidential Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An unforeseen incident happened to your IZVESTIYA correspondent in the Duma

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the other day. When I took an interest in the work of the Liberal Democratic faction's "cadres department," I happened to witness an instruction session conducted by the faction's cadre chief Anatoliy Kalinin (that was how he introduced himself) with a collector of signatures for V. Zhirinovskiy. Apparently it was this episode that led to my being literally evicted from the party's territory, by the efforts of Kalinin himself and Zhirinovskiy aide V. Musatov. Our "contacts" ended with threats from the Zhirinovskiyites that they would "see this hack again."

Theoretically, the presidential election campaign is not being conducted within the walls of the Duma. But in fact it is under parliament's roof that the election staffs of certain candidates for the post of head of state have begun to operate. This applies primarily to the leaders of Duma factions.

The factions' apparatuses will become the unofficial but, to all appearances, main electoral centers. An informed source in the Duma told IZVESTIYA's correspondent that the implementation of the first stage of election strategy has begun in the factions. Two tasks are in hand: the selection and placing of cadres, and the fight for material and technical facilities.

Cadres are selected on the basis of loopholes in the law "On the Status of Deputies." The Communists are very well aware that voluntary ideological helpers have to be paid, and if there is a chance to do this out of state, rather than party, funds, it would be a pity not to make use of it. Under the law, each elected representative of the people is entitled to have up to five paid assistants. The factions have decided to use the full quota, to leave the deputies with one assistant each, and to select for the remaining vacancies people whose main task would be to organize the party leader's election campaign.

It is easy enough to work out that the Communists alone will have about 700 "underground" campaigners, paid by the state, provided with premises and office equipment, and enjoying various privileges. Every deputy is allocated more than 3 million rubles every month by the state for assistants' wages, and four-fifths of that sum will now most likely be used to pay for election campaigning.

The deputies are sacrificing material and technical facilities for the sake of their leaders' future victories. According to the same informed source, at the moment approximately 40 of the 51 LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] deputies have been evicted from the rooms that officially belong to them in the State Duma building, by the party's arbitrary decision. Putting into practice the theory that a deputy's place of work is in the hall of sessions, the factions' leaders are handing over the offices to functionaries employed exclusively in the leaders' election campaign.

Of course, the battle for premises is not the main point — the deputies' offices are equipped with modern communications facilities and computer systems. The people using this equipment at the moment are mainly classified as deputies' public assistants. Questions of payment for their work are apparently being resolved by leasing one or two of the "free" offices. Rumor has it that people wishing confidentially to lease premises in the State Duma are paying from $10,000 a month for a room.

In conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent, Yevgeniy Kolybelnikov, chief of the State Duma premises management administration, did not rule out the possibility of this free-and-easy use of deputies' offices, stressing that from a purely technical point of view it is difficult to monitor the situation here.

Regional Affairs

Russia: Yeltsin Meets Rostov Regional Leader

LD2802120196 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1038 GMT 28 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, February 28 (INTERFAX) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin received head of the Rostov regional administration Vladimir Chub and discussed socioeconomic problems of the region and ways to solve them, presidential press secretary Sergey Medvedev told Interfax while describing the president's work schedule for February 28.

The same problems will be considered at a meeting between the Russian president and chairman of the State Council of the Udmurtian Republic Aleksandr Volkov to be held the same day.

Yeltsin is scheduled to met with Yuriy Pogromskiy, representative of the Ural charity organization Children — Future of our Nation at 1:00 p.m. participants of this meeting will discuss issues related to implementation of the Russia's Children program confirmed by the president, Medvedev said.

This program provides for the activization of priority state assistance to disabled children, settlers, poor families and families with many children. The meeting will also consider regional aspects of the presidential program, Medvedev said.

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Russia: Ingush President To Sue Russian Defense Ministry

LD2702125896 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1015 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NAZRAN, February 27 (INTERFAX) — Ingush President Ruslan Aushev has issued an instruction to evaluate the damage inflicted on Ingushetia and its population by the federal troops, in order to initiate legal action against the Russian Defense Ministry, Aushev's press service stated in a press release circulated Tuesday.

The Ingush government's presidium, which gathered in Nazran under the chairmanship of President Ruslan Aushev, discussed the consequences of the 58th Army's five-day stay in Ingushetia and the unleashing of combat operations near the villages of Arshty and Galashki, says the press release.

It also says that three local residents, two women and one man, were killed. However, the total number of victims will probably be larger because the search for missing people began only on Tuesday after the troops withdrew from Ingushetia.

The press service also stated that "a large number of mines" had been planted near the Russian bases. "Leaving Ingushetia in haste under pressure from the Ingush leaders and population, the troops left behind large mine fields which have already caused the loss of cattle," says the press release.

The press service expressed fears lest local residents trip on mines while collecting ramson, their main food today.

All windows have been blown out in the village of Arshty and more than 3,000 residents have found themselves exposed to cold weather.

Moreover, the tanks have damaged the farmland and the roads leading to the mountain villages.

The Russian Defense Ministry reports that on their way to Chechnya the 58th Army units were attacked by Chechen militants and had to fight back for 24 hours. As a result, 14 servicemen were killed and 20 wounded.

Russia: 'Total Failure' for Communists in Stavropol Elections

MM2802102296 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 96 p 1

[Report by Nikolay Gritchin: "Communists Lose Elections in Stavropol Kray"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The preliminary results of the elections to local self-government organs in six of Stavropol Kray's biggest cities, held 25 February, have become known. The people who had hitherto held the posts of heads of administrations were elected as the mayors of Yessentuki, Lermontov, Nevinnomyssk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol. The independent candidate V. Beketov becomes head of the executive power in Kislovodsk. The Communists' attempt to repeat their December success, when CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] representatives won the State Duma elections in the majority of districts in Stavropol Kray, ended in total failure this time. No candidate from that party came higher than second in any of the cities. Stavropol Kray State Duma Chairman V. Zerenkov told IZVESTIYA correspondent Nikolay Gritchin that people who had proved their right to high office through their previous actions were elected heads of the administrations.

Russia: Elections Assessed for Presidential Future

964F1160A Irkutsk VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Aleksandrov of the Irkutsk branch of the Memorial historical and educational society: "Who Won in December?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The results of the elections to the State Duma are attracting close attention inasmuch as the free atmosphere at the elections—a major and undoubted merit of the reformation and the present president—makes it possible to regard them as a more objective sounding of public preferences compared with other approaches, polling, say. Everyone is seeking in the distribution of the electorate's votes answers to the questions that interest them and attempting to forecast presidential election scenarios.

Let us consider the results of the ballot in respect to various public associations.

PLP (Beer Lovers' Party)—428,727 votes, 0.62 percent of the total vote, 0.4 percent of the total number of registered voters (figures henceforward in this sequence).

Thanks to the participation of the PLP, society was put to a special test of seriousness of attitude toward the elections. The frankly buffoonish, joke association, which had emerged on the eve of the ballot on the basis of "what if we slip through" with its memorable slogan of "We are for everyone having something to drink and something to snack on," mustered throughout Russia, the drinking-most country in the world, we are assured, a negligible percentage of the vote. Although, had it not been for the 5 percent barrier, the PLP could have sent one deputy to the Duma. But it is this indicator that additionally testifies to the electorate's most serious attitude

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toward the elections, rejecting avowed buffoonery, especially in determination of program political reference points. Many people who heard the clamorous advertising mounted on the eve of the elections by the PLP probably entertained at times the thought that the "beer lovers" could obtain the most votes. There were few who drew from these suppositions the further conclusions that in this case Russia would have been disgraced before the world and that no one would any longer have taken us seriously. Thank God, it passed.

LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia]—7,737,431; 11.18; 7.2. However strange, the negligible percentage of votes mustered by the PLP makes it possible to approach an understanding of the LDPR phenomenon. It is clear that the notions concerning the electorate of this party as being poor and destitute people who do not take seriously the present policy and who are inclined to cast their vote for representatives of buffoonery should be conclusively jettisoned. This conclusion is obvious inasmuch as, judging by the PLP, constituents' votes cannot be mustered by buffoonery alone.

So what attracts the voter to the LDPR? Do many people know anything of its program or economic proposals? I believe that the shock behavior of its leader, who is utterly liberated and hysterically excited and always "plays from sight," attracts the anarchic stratum of the populace, those who are, for the most part, perfectly honest and sincere people who are tormented precisely because they do not understand "where the fate of events will take us." In transitional periods there is a sharp increase in the proportion of the population dislodged from the value system of settled ideas and evolved rules of life. These people have no nostalgia for the past or a desire to bring back "everything as it was." But, placed under conditions requiring an independent sociopolitical orientation and a new social choice, these people respond to the challenge of the times with an anarchic reaction. We recall if only the detachments of revolutionary sailors of the times of the start of the civil war with their song "A roasted chicken...."

The LDPR's high popularity in the Armed Forces is not surprising, therefore. The anarchic principle manifested in the political choice in the voting is a psychological release and defense against the disciplinary army principle. The viewpoint that the proposition that "the army is outside of politics," as is the case in many countries, means denial to the army contingent of the right to participate in political actions and in elections probably makes some sense. Although it runs counter to our slogan "the people and the army are one." The anarchic component in an army in which people serve on contract should be lower than in an army formed on a mobilization basis.

In the light of the elections just held the LDPR's loss of almost half its vote compared with the past elections is highly portentous. This indicates merely that the self-determination of the population is taking place rapidly. A healthy principle, which is revealed in the course of the reforms to each individual and is recognized by people. Many people have already found themselves in these new realities, and the decline in the popularity of the LDPR is a natural phenomenon. By the next elections in four years' time, given an evolutionary course of events, the LDPR, having absolutely nothing to do with political parties of a liberal democratic persuasion, will have been reduced to nothing, and many people, looking at themselves and others, will find it hard to understand what induced them at that time to vote for the LDPR and even to number themselves in its ranks. Supplementary confirmation of this forecast is the total failure of the "Zhirinovskiyites" even now in the majority constituencies.

CPRF—15,432,963; 22.3; 14.4. The votes collected by the CPRF under conditions of the free expression of the citizens testify that part one of the political reform has in practice been accomplished in the country if we are referring to its most basic and essential part—the sobering-up of the population from the ideological dogmas of the communist past. Indeed, the votes cast for the CPRF constitute 14.4 percent of the 107.5 million total of eligible citizens. How are the 38.3 million constituents who stayed away from the polls altogether to be evaluated? Can these people be regarded as furious supporters of communism? The answer is obvious. Of course not. Some 14.4 percent of the vote—this is the real evaluation of the significance for society of the ideals of communism as a platform for a political orientation not on the basis of a sense of social self-preservation but on the basis of ideological dogmas.

This in a country in which communist ideology was for more than 70 years implanted in all ways, the most frightening of which even in the recent past were terror and repression and the most effective right up until recent days—general material dependence on the sole authorized source of income—the handout-wage. ....So to any impartial individual the results of the elections point to the inglorious decline of communism in a country that was formerly its citadel. This is why also we do not hear loud fanfares of the communists, who were accustomed to celebrate their victories on a nationwide scale, inasmuch as there is nothing to celebrate. There is no victory. There is a not entirely unalloyed gain.

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But who voted for the communists? Polls show that it is the CPRF that has highest proportion of the electorate aged 55 and over, constituting 49 percent compared with 31 percent for NDR [Russia Is Our Home] and 26 and 25 percent for the LDPR and Yabloko respectively. In other words, half of those who cast their votes for the CPRF—7 million persons—are people of the senior age group. They are people who had become accustomed to living built into the party organizations of their enterprises. They personified by their party affiliation the ideological cohesion of the work force. They are performing on a voluntary basis, by themselves, the work that before in the rayon party committees was performed by whole organizational departments.

It was people united by their nostalgia for the past, violating the legislative prohibitions on party work at the enterprises, which won the elections in a society that is not yet structured politically and has not created the political institutions for the defense of its strategic interests. They have nothing to offer society. Nostalgia for the past is not a base for political longevity under the conditions of the continuation of freedom of speech, democracy, and the very system of electivity and parliamentarianism. Nor can these 14 million of the population, of whom half are still living in the past, determine the rules of life for the remaining 100 million citizens!

Parties of a democratic persuasion. It is obvious that, while having broken the political structure of the totalitarian past and having conclusively disavowed it in the eyes of the vast majority of the population, the democratic forces were unable to offer a common united political structure. A mass of tiny discrete parties—this is what the democratic movement has degenerated into in a political respect, when from a movement as such, with a common goal of support for the leader, it has switched to political free sail. Many leaders of a democratic persuasion were forced to tackle two incompatible tasks. On the one hand to "get their hands dirty" in government, implementing unpopular measures, on the other, to create for themselves a political umbrella, and they have manifestly failed to cope with the second task. At the same time, on the other hand, it cannot be maintained that the country has turned its back on the democrats. Losing elections with an obvious majority of the population rejecting communism and supporting a continuation of the reforms—this is the unique result of the absurd rules of the game.

NDR—7,000,291; 10.13; 6.5. The obvious success of the newly formed party emphasizes yet again how far society is prepared to respond to clear political reference points, reform prospects, and the obvious manifestation of the organizational principle. But NDR is still a long way off from the creation of a party of a social democratic persuasion enjoying the broad support of society, and the obvious "power party" image is a hindrance. It is possible that NDR simply did not have sufficient time.

The general conclusion from the election results is that society has not lost its orientation toward reform. It is only the incompleteness of the political reform and the comminution of the democratic forces into tiny currents that prevented confirmation of this in the form of an obvious majority of the votes of the electorate and an unequivocal signal that people connect an improvement in their life with the new possibilities revealed in the course of the reforms.

Russia: Kostroma Region Regains Former Military Sites

LD2702161996 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1544 GMT 27 Feb 96

[By Vyacheslav Guskov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KOSTROMA, February 27 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia's Defence Ministry placed over 300 hectares of fields and forest area in Kostroma region, formerly used by the military, under the control of the local administration, a spokesman for the regional Committee for Ecology and Natural Resources told Itar-Tass on Tuesday. The spokesman said that the Defence Ministry had funded the rehabilitation of the area formerly occupied by 23 missile launching sites.

This year, regional authorities plan to rehabilitate land around 20 former silos, which had been blown up in conformity with international agreements.

Russia: Gold Privatization Conflict Examined

964F1175A Irkutsk VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 1

[Article by Yuriy Pronin, VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA: "From Privatization to Nationalization? Legality of Establishment of the Joint-Stock Company Lenzoloto Contested by the General Procuracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Several days ago the Russian Federation High Court of Arbitration began its examination of a suit brought by the Russian Federation General Procuracy against the Government, State Committee for Property Management (GKI), State Registry Bureau of the Economy Ministry, and closed-type joint-stock company Lenzoloto, to declare the founding documents and registration of Lenzoloto invalid. The acts whose legality is being contested bear the signatures of then First

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Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar and GKI heads Anatoliy Chubays and Petr Mostovoy. The suit, presented by Deputy Procurator General Viktor Davydov, states in particular:

"The closed-type joint-stock company Lenzoloto was established in violation of the legislation on privatization of state and municipal enterprises. Directive No. 693-r of the Russian Federation Government dated 9 April 1992 was published in violation of Articles 15 and 22 of the RSFSR Law on Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises in the RSFSR, and of the main provision of the Program for Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises for 1992, in effect at the time the directive was issued, which authorizes the transformation of enterprises in the privatization process to open-type joint-stock companies only.

"Citing this government directive, the Russian State Committee for State Property Management issued Directive No. 392-r, dated 28 August 1992, with changes as indicated in Directive No. 513-r, dated 26 March 1993. However, whereas the Russian Federation government directive authorized the attraction of a foreign investor into a closed-type joint-stock company, the initiative of the Russian State Committee for State Property Management enabled the foreign investor to participate in the establishment of the joint-stock company as a founder, which contradicts Article 37 of the RSFSR Law on Foreign Investments in the RSFSR and Section 8 of the State Program for Privatization of State and Municipal Enterprises for 1992...."

In this manner, a conflict many years in the making has entered a new phase, and the parties have once again changed places—those who were on the defensive have mounted an attack, and vice versa. How are we to assess the presence of the Lenzoloto and Sukhoy Log subject in the listing of "demonstrative cases" on the all-Russia scale? There is a temptation, of course, to bring up the "threat to reforms," "communist intrigues," etc. But let us recall that at the very origin of the "gold question," when the production association Lenzoloto was transformed into a joint-stock company, two directly confrontational approaches arose in the oblast administration and continue to exist to this day. "For the sake of quick and plentiful investments we have to 'straighten out the road,' sacrifice the law for the sake of expediency"—some believe, and their point of view predominated at one point in time. Others are convinced that "the stingy person pays twice—as long as legal irregularities exist, we will see no comprehensive development of Sukhoy Log." So has the General Procuracy not embarked upon a restoration of elementary legality, albeit in somewhat tardy fashion?

Russia: Oil Pipeline Breaks Outside Nizhnevartovsk; Fire Quelled

LD2702125496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1015 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NIZHNEVARTOVSK, February 27 (INTERFAX) — An oil pipeline with a diameter of 426 millimeters broke and caught fire Monday 30 kilometers outside of Nizhnevartovsk in western Siberia, the Ministry for Emergency Situations told Interfax Tuesday. The pipeline was shut down and extraction from 58 boreholes stopped.

The fire was extinguished in six hours by 23 persons and 10 fire- fighting machines. Nobody was hurt. No threat to the population or the environment is reported. Restoration operations are under way.

Russia: Pollution Localized After Komi Oil Pipeline Accident

LD2802120696 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0658 GMT 28 Feb 96

[By Viktor Makarov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] USINSK (KOMI REPUBLIC), February 28 (ITAR-TASS) — A working regime was restored today at part of the northern oil field in the Komi Republic and the Nenets Autonomous District, which was urgently interrupted on Tuesday [27 February]. According to the Itar-Tass information, another accident took place at the trunk internal oil pipeline Kharyaga (its head structure is situated near Usinsk) on February 27 in the morning. The seal failed on the oil pipeline, whose diametre is 720 millimetres, on the 76th kilometre north of Usinsk, unofficial reports say. According to preliminary information, 60 cubic metres of oil-containing liquid poured out through the hole and polluted 200 square metres of the territory.

Fortunately, oil products did not get into the nearby brooks. The broken part of the oil pipeline, which was urgently put at a standstill, was cut off from the rest of the territory with the help of screens. The polluted area was promptly localized. The accident took place at the old section of the oil pipeline, which was still in operation. A new section was built close to the old one and was ready to be put into service. It is this section that was connected to the trunk pipeline on Tuesday to replace the broken one, which made it possible to quickly resume the functioning of that part of the trunk oil pipeline.

The clean-up operation began today at the scene of the accident. Soil and snow, polluted with fuel oil, are being transported to special storages. Senior executives of the oil and gas producing enterprise Arkhangelskneftegaz,

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the Komineft joint-stock company, promise to eliminate the consequences of the accident before March 10.

Economic Issues

Russia: Yeltsin Options on Wage Arrears Viewed

MM2802102996 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 96 p 1

[Article by Yevgeniy Anisimov: "May You Live on One Wage!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] That was the joke made by the heroes in Gayday's movie. But today the former jokers are not even remembered: Those lucky enough to get paid are bringing back from work toilets, dishes, and nails.... But those who are working "for free" have to rely on presidential edicts.

Well, the president is paying no attention to blunders over wages on the eve of the elections! He has enough concerns already and there are also lackadaisical officials who are not issuing people with their lawful money. There has already been one edict — according to that edict the leaders of state enterprises who hold back wages are liable to dismissal. And some people have indeed been punished. Under the same edict it is forbidden to place budget-issued money in deposit accounts in bank, to hold on to it, and to obtain a profit through these wages delays. Two governors have paid for this by being dismissed. Russian Deputy Finances Minister Stanislav Korolev was among the first to "suffer" from the president's anger. The formulation for his dismissal notice was: For failing to fulfill the measures stipulated by the president for stepping up social protection for the population.

Wage arrears in the country's economy have increased at monstrous rates since December. And in some places wages have not been issued for three or four months — well, what political activeness can one expect from people who live on god knows what means? It is clear that one cannot embark on the election race with such a burden. Just as one cannot begin a campaign with the aggrieved investors in the savings bank and the financial pyramids of recent years, with the destitute pensioners and many, many other representatives of the electorate hurt in one way or another by the reform. In brief, a very large amount of money is needed. But there is none. The budget does not provide for the instant payment of the debts accumulated over five or six years. The economy will not withstand such an overload. Even with the aid of an IMF credit.

The choice facing the president is simple: Either to ruin the economy but get a chance of winning or to save the economy but commit political suicide. So far he is managing to avoid a definitive choice between these two extreme options: What is being spent is mainly promises and — in part — the special fund created to extinguish the most fiery flare-ups of dissatisfaction. How much will this fund pay for, and for how many? We will unfailingly describe at some time the progress in fulfilling the promises made by B. Yeltsin during his trip to Yekaterinburg and also during his forthcoming trips and speeches. (You can read a roundup of items from our special correspondents on page 2). [The roundup consists of reports from Belgorod Oblast, Saransk, Perm, Arkhangelsk, Moscow, and Krasnodar describing examples of the effect of the nonpayment of pensions and wages and the use of payment in kind]

Russia: Economist Illarionov on Decline in Budget Revenues

LD2702160696 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Feb 96

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Andrey Illarionov, director of the Economic Analysis Institute, thinks it is the first time for several years that we have had such a large amount of scarce resources to finance state expenditures. He addressed a news conference today on the economic situation in Russia and an analysis of the reforms.

[Begin Illarionov recording] The substantial decline in the tax revenues of the federal budget and generally the Russian Federation's consolidated budget as a whole has probably been the main event of the start of 1996. [end recording]

The total amount of debt in the area of remuneration of labor relative to the population's income has grown and amounted to 21.3 percent in January this year.

The second distinguishing feature here is the dynamics of industrial production. Andrey Illarionov is of the view that despite the government's statements, there has been no growth in industrial production. According to the institute's data, industrial production declined by 4.6 percent relative to 1994. There will be no industrial growth in the nearest future, even if a strict policy of keeping within the budget in 1996 is observed, thinks the economist. Andrey Illarionov tried to prove that IMF's 10 billion credit line is not of any benefit to Russia.

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International Affairs

Ukraine: Kuchma Signs Space Rocket Launch Agreement With U.S.

LD2702173596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1309 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, February 27 (Interfax-Ukraine) — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma signed in the course of his visit to the United States the co-operation agreement on outer-space launchings, which provides for twenty launchings of U.S. satellites by Ukrainian carrier rockets Zenith and Cyclon up to the year of 2002.

As Interfax-Ukraine has been told on Monday by National Outer-space Agency Chief Olexander Negoda, eleven launchings will be made within the framework of the Sea Launch U.S.-Norway-Russia-Ukraine joint venture.

In addition, Ukraine will be given the right to five launches of satellites into a geostationary orbit.

If the business launch market expands within the coming four years, Ukraine will be granted the right to another four launchings, three of them — within the Sea Launch framework.

The agreement was initialled in Vienna last December during the U.S.-Ukrainian meeting between representatives of the National Outer-Space Agency of Ukraine and the U.S. Department of State, O. Negoda recalled.

According to experts, the Ukrainian Zenith launching vehicle may present a serious challenge to the U.S.-made Delta vehicle in the world outer-space market.

The agreement signed may be evaluated as "an official recognition of Ukraine as a full-fledged partner in the world outer-space market," O. Negoda said.

Ukraine: Article on Atmospherics of Kuchma's U.S. Trip

WS2802100496 Kiev ZERKALO NEDELI in Russian 24 Feb-1 Mar 96 pp 1,5

[Article by Oleksandr Makarov: "Kiev and Washington Found Support in One Another"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The strict order of questions and answers envisioned in the itinerary for Leonid Kuchma's visit to the United States was disrupted by the press.

Leonid Kuchma arrived in Washington a few hours after an issue of the LOS ANGELES TIMES newspaper had appeared. On 20 February, the same day as the visit began, the paper published what was perhaps the largest material about Ukraine in its history.

The article was entitled "Ukraine Makes Its Planes Available to Cocaine Kingpins for Cargo Shipments," and was devoted to the leasing of AN-32B planes to some Colombian firm by the Antonov aviation company. The Colombian firm, the article said, dealt mainly with drug shipments abroad.

This was not all, however. Further on, in nearly two columns, the paper described previous — since 1992 — contacts between Ukraine and the Panamanian Government which, as everyone knows, had firm ties with the narcomafia. The ties were maintained through some Ukrainian-Panamanian company which, again, shipped scarce cocaine from Colombia and Panama to the free world.

The article abounded in figures and names of Panamanian-Colombian partners. On the Ukrainian side, only one employee of the company was named — Viktor Kudymenko.

In the United States, the LOS ANGELES TIMES is considered to be a very influential newspaper, and the publication of such an article did not go unnoticed. Then, the public learned that the Ukrainian president had arrived in the United States on the same day.

"I do not believe in such coincidences in big politics," said Serhiy Osyka, minister of foreign economic relations and trade. Nobody does: Judging by all signs, the article had been prepared for several months. The minimum cost of preparing it must have been several tens of thousands of dollars.

A similar case occurred before: A few days before the previous visit to the United States by our president, a well-known television channel aired a film about anti-Semitism in Ukraine.

Nonetheless, the perpetrators did not manage to finish their job, and the fact that the article was published on the day when the visit began was a tactical blunder — the president, having learned about it in advance, was able to quickly react via CNN.

On the evening of 20 February, a television station reported the following news item: "Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has arrived in the United States. He is the president of Ukraine, a country which, according to the LOS ANGELES TIMES, is involved in drug trafficking from Colombia. As is expected, this issue will be addressed during tomorrow's meeting between the Ukrainian president and President Clinton."

In another report, Leonid Kuchma was given the floor and stated that it is Colombia that bears the responsibility, being the leaseholder. He also said that the Ukrainian and U.S. special services were conducting

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an investigation. He urged the setting up of an international mechanism for controlling arms sales to hot spots and suspicious customers. However, such a mechanism has already been established in the United States, and it suggests imposing an immediate embargo on any deliveries to the aforementioned countries.

The general impression after the visit was that the provocation, as people used to say in the Soviet era, failed. It is possible, however, that its purpose was to wreck or at least rock Ukrainian-U.S. relations. This was perhaps an "alarm bell" following the talks about a strategic Ukrainian-U.S. partnership, special relations, joint exercises under the Partnership for Peace program, and statements about compensation for the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons.

The authors [of the article] apparently wanted to say that there are many papers in the world, and there will always be enough materials on everybody.

The current foreign minister of the Russian Federation and former chief of the Russian foreign intelligence service, Yevgeniy Primakov, once stated that he was going to pay more attention to CIS countries.

In general, in politics it often occurs that one event proves to be connected with another statement. Yet, perhaps it was not the case this time.

It is clear that the U.S. side was not involved in this at the official level — this can be confirmed at least by the lack of any distinct reaction to the article from the State Department. During the talks with Bill Clinton, this topic was addressed as well, though in passing. For the U.S. press, it existed for one day.

The article was openly against U.S. foreign policy toward Ukraine. Speaking about Ukrainian-U.S. relations, one cannot but mention why this unplanned visit was needed at all.

It was needed for Ukraine, which wanted to raise its profile and voice its need for loans and moral support. Ukraine needed a political decision on the extention of more IMF loans and the earmarking of aid by the United States, as well as on guaranteeing security with regard to energy supplies. Finally, Ukraine wanted to obtain guarantees that its position will not change after the [presidential] elections in Russia.

The visit was also necessary for the United States, which needs support on the eve of the Russian elections, as well. Generally speaking, the elections, as well as this fall's presidential race in the United States, were a key factor during the talks.

One further detail: U.S. newspapers are writing with all their might and vigor that Zyuganov's victory in the elections will not be a disaster for the United States. [passage omitted]

Ukraine: Marchuk Views Crimea, Black Sea Fleet Issues

LD2702212696 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2113 GMT 27 Feb 96

[By Pavel Kuznetsov, Mikhail Melnik and Raisa Stetsyura]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, February 28 (Itar-Tass) - Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk on Tuesday met the Russian State Duma delegation which is on an official visit to Ukraine.

The delegation is led by Duma speaker Gennadiy Seleznev.

One of the subjects of the talk was the Ukrainian enclave of the Crimea.

"The Crimea is a very subtle issue, and one should move about it wearing white gloves," Marchuk said.

He said he did not see "the Crimea issue as it used to be," referring to the last year's aggravation of tension in Ukraine's relations with the Crimea.

The major concern now is the planting season ahead, Marchuk said.

"It is time we removed politicisation from some facts and manifestations," Marchuk said, spelling that the Russian-speaking population and the autonomy of the Crimea are not threatened.

"Ukraine as a member of the Council of Europe has taken certain obligations to the world community, and it will meet them," Marchuk said.

He sounded as reassuring about the Black Sea fleet issue and "various sort of insinuations around the status of Sevastopol," the major base of the Russian Black Sea fleet.

According to Marchuk, substantial progress had been made in Russian-Ukrainian negotiations on the fleet's division.

He said the earlier talks in Sochi between the Russian and Ukrainian defence ministers, Pavel Grachev and Valeriy Shmarov, had given momentum to the negotiation process.

Shmarov, who attended the meeting, added that all issues except for the retaining of the Sevastopol base by the Russian fleet had been actually resolved. He pledged that the debate on Sevastopol's status would be settled in March, too.

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Shmarov explained that Sevastopol's coasts have separate bays to accommodate both Russian and Ukrainian navies.

Marchuk summed up, speaking about Sevastopol's status: "It has been defined: Sevastopol is the city in subordination to the Ukrainian state."

Ukraine: Moroz, Russia's Seleznev Call For Closer Cooperation

LD2702183496 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1615 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received] — "The Ukrainian initiative to host an international conference on European security and disarmament has received support from the Russian State Duma delegation," Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz told a news conference. At the same time, he pointed to circles in Ukraine and Russia that in his view did not favor further progress in Ukrainian-Russian relations. "This is particularly dangerous in the run-up to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Ukraine and the signing of a large-scale treaty between Ukraine and Russia," he said.

Russian State Duma Chairman Gennadiy Seleznev expressed satisfaction with all of his meetings in Ukraine — in parliament, at the Institute of International Relations, and at the Antonov aircraft-building association. The Russian speaker urged Ukraine to join the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly to facilitate the coordination of legislation among former Soviet republics. Seleznev said he had invited a Ukrainian parliamentary delegation to visit Russia in the middle or end of March. Oleksandr Moroz also received an official invitation to Moscow.

"We have realized that we are among friends in Kiev," Seleznev said. "Our countries will become closer, provided we do our best to bring them closer." In his view, the notion of political sovereignty has a right to exist, but not all of the former Soviet republics, and not everybody in these republics, are content with the political sovereignty they obtained.

Speaking on the problem of Crimea, the Duma chairman stressed that 65 percent of its population were ethnic Russians, and this should be taken into account before any attempt to decide the fate of the peninsula. "Crimea is made of fine fabric that does not withstand sudden moves," he said.

Ukraine: Zyuganov: Foreign Policy as 'Non-Interference'

LD2702195896 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Feb 27 (Interfax-Ukraine) — Russia's foreign policy will be based on full openness, non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, and neighborly relations with all nations, said Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov during a meeting between a delegation from Russia's State Duma and students and instructors of the International Relations Institute in Kiev on Tuesday.

Russia has no right to "make big geopolitical mistakes," Zyuganov said.

"There are attempts to involve us into a squabble with Ukraine, and this is inadmissible," he declared. "We must also do all we can to prevent clashes between Orthodox Church members and Muslims, and aggravation of relations with China."

With reference to the problem of Russian speakers in the Crimea Zyuganov said that the faction he leads wants to make "the approaches of Moscow, Kiev and Simferopol to the processes taking place now as close as possible, and to have the rights of our compatriots protected and restored in accordance with international norms without infringing on anyone's sovereignty."

"There is every opportunity for this," he pointed out.

As for the restoration of peace in Chechnya, there is a need to form an interdepartmental commission to resolve this problem, appoint one of the deputy prime ministers to monitor its work, convene the Congress of Caucasian Peoples for a conference, take urgent steps to prevent arms for criminal or mercenary groups from reaching the area, and gradually withdraw the army from localities "where the situation is relatively calm," Zyuganov said.

Ukraine: Marchuk: Russia is Foreign Policy Priority

LD2802112796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0916 GMT 28 Feb 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Pavel Kuznetsov, Mikhail Melnik, Raisa Stetsyura]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV February 28 (Itar-Tass) — A visit of members of the Russian State Duma to Ukraine should further promote the development of Ukrainian-Russian relations and the harmonizing of the two countries' legislations. On the current stage it is important both for Ukraine and Russia from the

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material point of view, in the first place, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevheniy Marchuk said on Tuesday at a meeting with the State Duma delegation, which is currently in Kiev on an official visit.

State Duma Chairman Gennadiy Seleznev said in this connection that, in his opinion, the governments of the two countries had advanced in their relations much further, than the parliaments. This is why their current visit to Kiev is to bring their respective stands closer together, in order to give the executive authorities "good laws for normal Ukrainian-Russian relations."

Marchuk said that "the Russian direction in the Ukrainian foreign policy is of a priority character ... for political and economic reasons and because of tradition."

He believes the problem of the Crimea no longer exists in the same form as before. "It is high time we remove politization from some facts and developments," he said. No one and nothing are threatening the Russian-speaking population or the autonomy status, Marchuk said. In his opinion, the problem of the status of Sevastopol should not be raised again. "The status has already been established: it is a city subordinated to the Ukrainian state," he said.

Marchuk said that Ukraine had nothing against joining the Customs Union. "We believe it should develop, following the European pattern, but first of all we should pass through the stage of a free trade regime," he pointed out.

State Duma Chairman Gennadiy Seleznev expressed satisfaction with the results of the official visit of their delegation to Kiev. He spoke at a press conference here on Tuesday, which was devoted to the results of the visit. At the same time, he expressed regret that the Russian legislators had had no opportunity to meet President Kuchma. "We know he does not feel well these days," he said. Seleznev hopes that deputies to the State Duma will soon have an opportunity to meet the Ukrainian president.

Ukraine: Marchuk Denies Avoiding Russian Duma Delegation

LD2702124996 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Donetsk — Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk believes that normal relations between Ukraine and Russia will be established only when Ukraine's economic situation improves, and "when joint Ukrainian-Russian capital, enterprises under joint ownership, and joint Ukrainian-Russian financial-industrial groups begin to work on mutually advantageous principles."

At a news conference yesterday evening he said he is convinced there will not be any drastic changes in Ukrainian-Russian relations. "Negotiating relations have already acquired their own momentum, the techniques of communication have already been established and do not depend on the situation of the moment," the prime minister emphasized. At the same time he did not rule out that "the Russian side might alter the focus."

Yevhen Marchuk denied that he went to the Donbass in order to avoid meeting the Russian State Duma delegation led by Gennadiy Seleznev. He said that such a meeting was planned for 1800 today and that he could not postpone the trip to Donetsk because of the urgency of resolving the problems of the coal sector.

Ukraine: Deputy Says Russian Security Services Stepping Up Activities

WS2702131796 Kiev KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 23 Feb 96 p 4

[Report by Olha Chorna: "FSB Spies Are Everywhere..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the immediate future Ukrainian lawmakers are to pass a number of bills concerning defense and security issues. Meanwhile, a closed discussion on the question of observing existing legislation in the military sphere has been scheduled for this week. Judging by everything, this event urged People's Deputy Mykola Porovskyy to present his colleagues from the "Statehood" deputy group with a very interesting letter. In the letter the deputy not only claims that Russia's special services have "launched a large-scale intelligence campaign against Ukraine," but also cites interesting details.

For instance, the author of the letter maintains that Russia's GRU [Main Directorate of Intelligence] and FSB [Federal Security Service] agents were recruited among officers who were returning to Ukraine after the disintegration of the Soviet Army and among servicemen who stayed to continue military service on Ukraine's territory. According to Mr. Porovskyy, the most evident manifestations of agents' activities in Crimea were observed during the period of the dramatic exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation on the peninsula: "The GRU maintained a continuous observation of all the facilities of the Armed Forces, the Interior Ministry, and the National Guard of Ukraine deployed in the Autonomous Republic. Moreover, this was accompanied by numerous cases of forceful detention of Ukrainian servicemen by Russia's special services, which demanded information on the numerical strength of Ukrainian Armed

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Forces units and subunits, as well as on their situation and activities." Nevertheless, according to Mykola Porovskyy, even this was not enough for Russia's special services. They also engaged in radioelectronic, and even space intelligence.

According to Porovskyy, GRU and FSB activities against Ukraine are becoming an increasingly tangible component of the Russian Federation's general foreign policy, "which has become possible mainly due to the constant strengthening of the special services' influence on the Russian military-political leadership. This is proven by the appointment of Yevgeniy Primakov, the Russian Federation's foreign intelligence director, to the post of foreign minister." Therefore, Mykola Porovskyy believes that "the aforementioned prospects" must be taken into account during the development of Ukraine's foreign policy concept, particularly on the eve of signing a large-scale Russian-Ukrainian political treaty.

When KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI correspondent Anatoliy Smetanin asked the Ukrainian Security Service press center to comment on Deputy Porovskyy's letter, press center employees asked... for a faxed copy of its text! Later on, it turned out that they did have the text, and their commentary was as follows:

First, the Security Service does not know from which sources Deputy Porovskyy and his colleagues from the "Statehood" group obtained the data used in their letter. Second, the Security Service had not provided them with this kind of data. Third, how can the Security Service comment on the letter, given that it does not contain any specific charges against the Security Service, as well as there being no official deputy motion that would warrant an official response?

Ukraine: European Body Consulted on Legality of Russian Actions

LD2702143796 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1403 GMT 27 Feb 96

[By Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, February 27 (Itar-Tass) — Ukraine has decided to ask the secretariat of the European Energy Charter to furnish consultative explanations on the legality of the actions taken by the Russian Ministry of Fuel and Energy which is opposing the boosting of Ukrainian transit tariffs for Russian oil transported via the "Druzhba" oil pipeline, Aleksandr Sverdlov, chief of the department for oil and gas transportation and underground gas storages of the Ukrainian state committee for the oil and gas industry, told Itar-Tass on Tuesday.

Touching on the reaction of the Ukrainian side to the "possible application of economic pressure methods" by the Russian Ministry of Fuel and Energy, which were mentioned on Monday by Russian Minister of Fuel and Energy Yuriy Shafranik, Sverdlov said that they were already being used. "On the recommendation of the Russian ministry, the exporting firms, which had signed contracts with the 'Druzhba' enterprise, have addressed to its chief Lubomir Bunyak protocols of differences, demanding a reduction of the transit tariff from 5 2 U.S. dollars per tonne on each 712-kilometre stretch of the pipeline to 4.53 dollars. However, on agreement with the Ukrainian state committee for the oil and gas industry, the 'Druzhba' chief has turned down this demand."

"We cannot agree to the reduction of the tariff, because there are contracts, terms for their implementation, as wells pre-payments, calculations, and economic expediencies for transporting oil," Sverdlov explained. "Ukraine is not afraid of any pressure, because it exists and will continue until the country gets alternative oil supply sources."

According to Sverdlov, the "Druzhba" pipeline was continuing to transport oil according to the new tariffs. He does not believe that enterprises, linked with "Druzhba" by contracts, will insist on the reduction of transit tariffs, because in that case it will be necessary to annul the existing agreements and stop pumping oil to Eastern Europe. "Nobody will resort to such extreme steps in spite of the pressures exerted by the Russian Ministry of Fuel and Energy," Sverdlov claims.

Russia, for its part, has also decided to apply to the European Energy Charter since both conflicting sides are members of that organisation. As distinct from Ukraine, which has applied for consultative explanations, the Russian ministry expects to settle the dispute with the help of that organisation.

Ukraine: Moroz To Speak at Serb Socialist Party Congress in Belgrade

AU2802114196 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 27 Feb 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "A 'Sweet' Visit to Belgrade"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Tomorrow [28 February], Ukraine's Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz will depart on an official visit to the FRY. It is expected that Moroz will meet in Belgrade with top officials in Serbia and Montenegro, representatives of factions of the ruling and opposition parties at the parliament and will also meet with FRY Ukrainians. A delegation of the Ukrainian parliament will hand over humanitarian aid to refugees from Ukraine's**

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Red Cross — more that one metric ton of sugar, flour, medicines, and so on.

According to unofficial information, Oleksandr Moroz will speak at the Third Congress of the Serbian Socialist Party to be held 1-2 March in Belgrade.

The visit will last until 2 March.

National Affairs

Ukraine: Moroz Calls For Constitutional Definition of President

LD2602181196 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 26 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukraine's Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz will insist that the new Ukrainian Constitution should clearly define the status of president, either as the head of state or the head of state and chief executive. Speaking at a meeting with deputy heads of district state administrations today, he said it will be wrong to provide the head of state with the functions of the chief executive and place responsibility for government actions on the Cabinet of Ministers and the prime minister.

Moroz stressed he will "agree to any option," provided it was "clearly defined" in the Constitution.

Moroz said the Constitution should establish a "clear dependence between all power structures," particularly the subordination and accountability of the Cabinet of Ministers to the Supreme Council.

Moroz said he will "do everything possible to achieve consensus in the Supreme Council and have the Constitution adopted in parliament."

Ukraine: Kuchma Notes Need To Work With Incumbent Deputies

LD2602190196 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1731 GMT 26 Feb 96

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Leonid Kuchma is opposed to the idea of dissolving the incumbent legislature as offered by some deputies on the left.

"It is necessary to work with the incumbent deputies," he told a news conference in Kiev. And he added that elections to the present parliament were still continuing.

At the same time Kuchma reiterated his opposition to the idea of deputies approving legislation on how the new constitution must be adopted. He called instead for sticking to the formal procedures set in the constitutional deal struck between the president and the legislature. Kuchma wants to push through the new basic law expected to guarantee no reversal to the past as soon as possible. IF Note: An early or voluntary dissolution of parliament terminates last June's constitutional deal which gives a year in which to adopt a new basic law.

Left wing deputies are opposed to the idea of adopting a new constitution on the basis of a draft fleshed out by a working group of the constitutional commission of which Kuchma is a co-chairman.

The Ukrainian leader also hopes for an early approval of the 1996 budget because "it is impossible to live without it." Kuchma relies on the deputies' common sense for this to happen.

On Parliament Speaker Aleksandr Moroz's statement at a Socialist party conference on February 17, the president said it was up to Moroz as the party leader to make one. "It is a pity he should use the same slogans in parliament," Kuchma said adding that Moroz's speech at the forum "revealed his true face."

IF Note: Speaking at the forum, Moroz called for a review of the government's social and economic policies. He also said that the Ukrainian presidency was assuming the traits of authoritarian rule.

On the problem of the Black Sea Fleet, Kuchma said the status of Russia's Black Sea Fleet and its bases in Ukraine were the only questions that remain unresolved. He described the issue as being both economic and political.

On his attitude to the Ukrainian Communist party, the president said he wanted to build "a civilized law-governed state" unlike the Communists who were seeking to create a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The president who leaves for a brief holiday in Truskavets reaffirmed he would not be able to meet Speaker of the Russian State Duma Gennadiy Seleznev due to arrive in Kiev on Monday.

Leader of the Socialist faction in parliament Ivan Chizh predicts a flare up of tension over the adoption of the new basic law.

"The Socialists see it as a line behind which there is no room for compromise," he told a news conference in Kiev.

Chizh said the Socialists would put forward a motion for dissolving the Supreme Soviet to avert being a party to the approval of an undemocratic constitution.

He said the left wing groups would insist on a parliamentary or a mixed form of government, one chamber parliament, local self-rule and granting powers to local councils.

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Ukraine: Moroz, Left Wing in Parliament Criticized

WS2702135496 Kiev UKRAYINA MOLODA in Ukrainian 23 Feb 96 p 3

[Interview with Petro Sheyko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Commission for Regulations, Parliamentary Ethics, and Securing Deputies' Work, by Svitlana Rastorhuyeva; place and date not given: "Petro Sheyko: 'I Am Ready To Step Down as Commission Chairman To Make It Possible To Replace the Presidium, Along With the Parliament Chairman'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] **Petro Volodymyrovych Sheyko is the chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for Regulations, Parliamentary Ethics, and Securing Deputies' Work. He was born in the Chernihiv region. After graduating from the Academy of Agriculture, he worked in the agricultural sector and the Ministry of Agriculture.**

Having become convinced that "nobody needs" ministerial work, he initiated a transfer to the office of presidential representative in his rayon, where he was elected deputy to the Supreme Council.

He has three children and a granddaughter. His wife is a writer.

He has become UKRAYINA MOLODA's first guest representing the legislative branch of power.

[Rastorhuyeva] The commission for parliamentary ethics can be compared with a highway police post. In case of the slightest violation, it waves a warning baton. And although it seems that people do not like the highway police very much, your name is often named among candidates for the office of parliament chairman. To what degree, in your opinion, does the current Supreme Council chairman (who is simultaneously the leader of the Socialist Party of Ukraine [SPU]) meet the parliament's needs, and, in general, how realistic is his replacement?

[Sheyko] What transpires in Oleksandr Moroz's actions is his affiliation with the SPU. He constantly pursues a socialist policy — at the level of regulations, when he gives the floor to someone, at Presidium meetings, and in interviews. And if the parliament has little authority in society, I put a great deal of the blame for this on Oleksandr Moroz. Immediately after his election as Supreme Council chairman, it became clear that the man was unable to consolidate different political forces. As a result, we are becoming divided even further, and I do not see any gestures aimed at uniting the parliament by the parliament chairman. If it were not for Moroz's ambitions, we could initiate a meeting with the president and coordinate precise cooperation between the two branches of power at the level of personal contacts. It is quite achievable, and this is what I would do.

The deputy speakers, whom he installed in a quite adventurous manner by violating the regulations, are also "dear to the speaker's heart." Oleksandr Tkachenko is a man out of his element, as my colleague from the communist faction has frankly told me. The bolsheviks nudge the more honest Oleh Dyomin for brawls as well, and all of this does much harm to the parliament. So it proves that some people are arrogant, others speak endlessly, and still others simply keep silent.

[Rastorhuyeva] Although the issue of replacing the Presidium has frequently been raised since the first session, nothing has changed...

[Sheyko] Last year, when the Presidium presented a report on its work, I voted for replacing it. Although I am a Presidium member, I am ready to lay down the powers of commission chairman even today in order to make it possible to replace the Presidium, along with the parliament chairman. In general, it should not be replaced too often because there are many singularities in the parliament's work. I initially thought that it would be very easy for me to draft laws; after all, I have 22 years of experience in state service. Still, during the first year it was very difficult to organize the commission's work and define prospects for legislative work. And although it was easier during the second year, I am convinced that one can only learn how to draft laws after 10 years of working in parliament.

[Rastorhuyeva] Although early parliamentary elections are extraordinary events all over the world, in our country the former Supreme Council did not last to the end of its term of office, and people are already anticipating early elections for the current one....

[Sheyko] Unlike parliaments from European countries, with centuries-old histories of parliamentarism, the Ukrainian parliament is only five years old. As a matter of fact, parliaments from the era of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were not parliaments. We have to draft many new laws, while in Western countries laws are usually merely amended.

As for new early elections, they are unrealistic. According to the current Electoral Law, we will simply be unable to elect a third parliament. The 50-percent threshold, with which I fought in my constituency (because it was not a fight with an opponent, but the threshold), will not make it possible to elect a parliament. We already have a new draft electoral law, but it will hardly reflect the true alignment of forces in parliament. We will explore whether it is advisable to establish a 5-percent threshold for political parties, as is the case in

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Russia. In our country, the Communists and Rukh currently have the largest electorate. And what if no other party reaches the threshold? Then, this 5 percent will be enough for the Communists to have half of the seats in parliament, because all other votes will automatically be added to them. Why do the Communists currently have the absolute majority in the State Duma? Not because they won, but because they received the votes of those who lost.

The level of the Ukrainian voters' activeness can be observed best during by-elections: The sixth by-elections will take place this April.

[Rastorhuyeva] Your attitude toward the efficiency of the current parliament, led by Moroz, is skeptical. Do you think that the parliament will "last" to the end of its term? Will it be able to mobilize anyway, and will laws finally be drafted?

[Sheyko] You know, the legislative work has "moved forward" anyway, though not much. Nevertheless, Moroz is unable to make the work efficient. Let us take the agenda: It always includes some secondary issues, but not what the government requests or the president proposes. Is it really impossible to plan the work to make it fruitful? Additionally, it often happens that as soon as we begin gaining pace, Moroz "pushes" another political issue — such as the rehabilitation of the Communist Party, return of its property, or accession to the [CIS] Interparliamentary Assembly. The issue of adopting the constitution is currently on the agenda. I am afraid that in the most crucial moment, Moyseyenko will step forward, for example, and will again start talking about the return of the Great October after the elections in Russia, and the meeting will be disrupted. As it is, the constitution, a social basis, and the structure of power are insignificant for the Communists. It is more important for them to hold a referendum on the color of the flag and state symbols.... By the way, supercommunist Serhiy Drahomaretskyy dropped in during one of the recent Presidium meetings wearing a red-and-blue badge [colors of Soviet Ukraine]. I suggested showing him the door, but only 14 of my colleagues voted for this, and the entire "left-wing army" — against. Here is what Moroz said: "So what can you do with him if he wants to wear this badge..."

[Rastorhuyeva] Some people underestimate the influence of left wing forces in parliament, while others exaggerate it. Objectively, what is the real influence of the left-wingers?

[Sheyko] You know, I would like to examine cooperation between the Ukrainian and Russian left wing forces. Why do the Communists not speak Ukrainian in the Supreme Council? Because their "friends" from the Duma hear them. [Communist Party of Ukraine — KPU — leader] Symonenko, for example, speaks in perfect Ukrainian during Presidium meetings and news conferences. I think that the KPU actually operates under the aegis of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, and I even suspect that the latter finances the former. The Ukrainian Communists completely duplicate the statute and principles of the "like-minded" Russians. There is only one difference concerning the most fundamental issue — the Russian Communists do everything to strengthen Russia, and our Communists — to destroy their state. They do not work out the money they receive, however. The Communist faction has done nothing "useful" over the past two years — either with regard to the KPU's property, or the Interparliamentary Assembly. Let us take Ukraine's accession to the Council of Europe. While we voted for this, the Communists were against, but when we began setting up a permanent parliamentary commission for the Council of Europe (12 people), they tore apart their shirts asking why they did not compose half of the commission.

Here is another example: Representatives of the Ukrainian Supreme Council went to St. Petersburg for talks on joining the Interparliamentary Assembly. Yatsenko (KPU), Marmazov, and Boldyryev were those who went there, and they took Movchan with them. And at a Presidium meeting they said that they had taken one man from the "center," right, and left each. I asked who was that man from the center, and they said that it was Boldyryev. But he is a super chauvinist, a man who openly says that the Ukrainian state does not exist. Therefore, the stance of the president, who sometimes criticizes us too harshly seeing what goes on in the parliament, is understandable.

[Rastorhuyeva] Do you think that the Supreme Council is capable of passing the Basic Law, and do you support the idea of a bicameral parliament?

[Sheyko] I very much like our parliament to pass the Constitution this year. However, it will be very hard to secure 309 votes, or even impossible. If it comes to a referendum, I would very much like both the president and the parliament to coordinate their actions and put the constitution to a referendum as an integral document.

As for a bicameral parliament, I am not much impressed by indirect elections to the Senate, because this is how the foundation for federalism in Ukraine may be laid. This is dangerous due to the uncertain situation in Crimea and differences between eastern and western Ukraine. I am afraid of Ukraine becoming a mere 30-kilometer zone surrounding Chernobyl.... [passage omitted]

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Ukraine: Premier Favors Financial Independence for Energy Sector

LD2702131496 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Donetsk — At a news conference yesterday, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk said he is against the existing mechanism for managing the energy sector. According to him, the sector will be reformed by granting "almost full financial independence to businesses" in order to "motivate specific electrical energy producers, and thereby increase enterprises' efficiency." At the same time he stressed that full decentralization of the sector is "inadmissible", because "the security of the state's energy is at issue." Yevhen Marchuk stressed that a state-wide body for managing the energy sector is to be established.

Ukraine: Socialist Party Leader on Program, Ties With Communists

WS2702140596 Kharkov VREMYA in Russian 20 Feb 96 p 2

[Interview with Volodymyr Mukhin, member of the Ukrainian Socialist Party Political Committee, by A. Kletsov; place and date not given: "We Are Twin Brothers With Zyuganov's Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A conference was held in Kiev by the Ukrainian Socialist Party [SPU] at which the party's program was discussed.

[Mukhin] As for the economic program, our party stated many times that it advocates a multiform economy and supports domestic producers of commodities. Currently, we finance Western companies by buying products from them. Therefore, the socialists are against the import of commodities which are not absolutely essential. This particularly concerns products which are manufactured in our country. High excise taxes should be imposed on these kinds of items.

If, for instance, someone wants to have a Japanese television set, then he should naturally pay not only its price but also the extra charge — which is meant for the development of the domestic production of television sets. Due to the excise tax we can manage to considerably lower the price of television sets produced in Ukraine, which currently cost 50 million [karbovantsi]. Thus, we will be able to support our own producers, create additional jobs, and give an impetus to the production sector.

As is known to VREMYA's readers, the Supreme Council has already introduced excise taxes on imported spirits, liquors, and tobacco products. As a result, currently toilets at Boryspil [airport in Kiev] smell of French cognac, given that customs agencies do not permit it to be transported further. However, those who are going to continue importing spirits, liquor, and cigarettes should pay the excise tax, which will be directed into the state budget.

[Kletsov] During the election campaign many deputies promised their electorate to lower taxes imposed on domestic producers. Who is blocking this idea?

[Mukhin] I am ready to confirm that neither in the president's team nor in the government, and even less so in the Supreme Council, are there people who oppose the idea of lowering taxes. On the contrary, all of them are "for" the idea. However, at the beginning we should find other financial resources which would compensate for taxes levied from industrial enterprises to replenish the budget . Otherwise, the lowering of taxes will be disadvantageous to the state given that we will not be able to pay wages and pensions to teachers, doctors, and other employees of the state sector.

[Kletsov] However, what prompted the SPU's increased attention to the victory of the Communists in the elections to the Russian State Duma?

[Mukhin] The program of the Russian Federation Communist Party [KPRF] is very similar to our program. Incidentally, Russia's State Duma Speaker G. Seleznev stated at one of his first news conferences that there is a party with a similar platform in Ukraine, namely the SPU. Please note that he mentioned not the Communist Party, but the Socialist Party. Therefore, we would like to establish closer relations with the KPRF.

[Kletsov] Where then does the difference between the Ukrainian communists and the Ukrainian socialists lie?

[Mukhin] Primarily in the way both parties approach the complicated situation in Ukraine's political and economic spheres. The socialists accept all forms of ownership: If, for instance, a private enterprise is profitable and pays all taxes, why should we prohibit its further operation? In light of this, our program is similar to the stance of socialists in Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Italy, and some other countries in which socialists are currently in power. Well, tell me: Do people in Europe live bad lives? Do they live in misery? Why then should we not use the positive experience which has been accumulated by other civilized countries?

The Ukrainian Communist Party's [KPU] stance is somewhat different. They say: "Remember the Soviet Union? Remember how everything was wonderful in the Soviet Union? Let us go back to the starting point and start everything from scratch."

The socialists believe that we should not return to the past, and that the only way for us is to go forward. This

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is the primary difference between the KPU and SPU. As a matter of fact, this is why we are so harshly criticized by the communists. Meanwhile, the SPU facilitated the rebirth of the KPU, and managed to achieve the abolition of the ban on the KPU's activities. When the KPU was legalized again, certain "comrades" who came from nowhere began to speak before the nation and criticize the socialists for the fact that they, so to speak, do not think and act in the way the communist prefer. I do not know how it is perceived from the side, but I think that our reasoning is correct and that democratic socialism is Ukraine's future.

This issue and many others were discussed at the pan-Ukrainian conference of the SPU.

Ukraine: Crimean Parliament Appoints Prime Minister

LD2802120796 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1120 GMT 28 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Simferopol — The Crimean parliament appointed Arkadiy Demydenko as the republic's prime minister. Fifty-three out of 73 deputies voted in favor of the appointment.

Demydenko was born in 1950 in Kagarlyk, Kiev Region. He was educated in Leningrad [St. Petersburg] at the Institute of Railway Engineers. He holds a Ph.D. and speaks English. Since October 1994, he has served as deputy prime minister of Crimea.

Addressing the parliament session, the new prime minister announced plans to reshuffle the government within two weeks. He told deputies that a new form of cooperation between the government and the Supreme Council had to be found.

The leader of Crimean Communists, Leonid Hrach, said Demydenko's appointment would "turn sour both for the Ukrainian parliament leaders and for the association of Crimean town and district executive committees who backed his nomination."

Ukraine: Daily Profiles New Crimean Premier

MM2702124596 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 96 p 2

[Report by Eduard Dolya: "New Premier in Crimea..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yalta — Crimea seems to have been "delivered" of a new prime minister, the fifth in four years. For over a month official Kiev was unable to choose a successor to Anatoliy Franchuk, a newly fledged Ukrainian parliamentarian. But now the choice has been made in favor of Arkadiy Demydenko.

From the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA file:

Arkadiy Fedorovych Demydenko was born in the city of Kazarlyk, Kiev Oblast, in 1950. He graduated from Leningrad Transport Engineers Institute.

He was employed in party work and in the post of chairman of Simferopolskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee. In the cabinet of Crimea's "Moscow" Premier Yevgeniy Saburov he was deputy minister for the management of state enterprises. He served as first vice premier under Premier Anatoliy Franchuk.

He coordinates the work of the government commission on combating corruption and organized crime. Less than a year ago he had to replace the door of his apartment after it was blown in.

His favorite newspaper is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

Local observers believe that with Demydenko's accession to the premiership there is a chance of preserving the political equilibrium which has recently been established along the Kiev-Simferopol-Moscow axis. Demydenko's candidacy has been coordinated with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma. It only remains for it to be approved in the Supreme Council. This will most likely be done 28 February.

Economic Affairs

Ukraine: Foreign Banks Allowed To Participate in Privatization

LD2602230996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2257 GMT 26 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Feb 26 (FIA-Interfax) — Partially and fully foreign banks, yet to be created and already operating in Ukraine, will be able to actively participate in the privatization of state property in the republic, a senior government official told Interfax Monday [26 February], commenting on the recently signed amendments to the law on banks and banking activities.

The amendments lifted all restrictions on investment operations by Ukrainian banks. Until now, a bank's total contributions to the charter funds of other companies and organizations could not exceed 10 percent of its own charter fund and 15 percent of the charter fund of the enterprise founded.

Once introduced, the amendments enable the banks to found other banks and purchase major stakes in the charter funds of other enterprises without any restrictions. Government experts believe that this step will comprise the basis of the reform of the Ukrainian banking system.

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Ukraine: Deputy Premier on Improving Power Complex Management

LD2602211596 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1830 GMT 26 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — On 26 February Vasyl Yevtukhov, Ukrainian deputy prime minister for the fuel and power engineering complex, met nuclear power station managers, the UNIAN news agency learned at the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers press office.

The deputy prime minister said he is in favor of creating a unified system for managing power engineering. He said that over this week the nuclear power station directors will be working with specialists from the Power and Electrification Ministry and the State Committee for the Use of Nuclear Power on putting their suggestions into practice, in particular, setting up generating companies on the basis of nuclear power stations, which would operate in accordance with international standards and be responsible for the stations' safety. The entry of these companies into the energy market would facilitate the development of competition between them and between thermal and hydroelectric power stations.

Ukraine: Prime Minister Insists Coal Producers Have 'Business Plans'

LD2702130096 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1015 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Donetsk — In addition to the 170 trillion karbovantsy envisaged in the draft state budget for 1996, the government has worked out a number of measures of an organizational nature with regard to rendering assistance to coal enterprises, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk said at a news conference on yesterday. According to him, the relevant ministries have been instructed to work out mechanisms for rendering financial assistance to "specific producers with specific business plans and a definite mechanism for repaying credits." The Ukrainian prime minister emphasized that "there will simply not be any subsidies for the coal sector without such business plans."

Yevhen Marchuk said that at the consultation with general managers of coal enterprises, which took place on the same day and was attended by leaders of ministries and departments, an instruction was issued to work out, together with regional state administrations, "a plan of organizational changes in the coal industry" within ten days. He emphasized that "there have not been and there are no" differences of approach to reforming the coal sector between the government and Donetsk regional state administration.

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Belarus

Belarus: Lukashenka Supports Joint Oil Project With Russia

WS2702124596 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 24 Feb 96 p 1

[Report by BELTA correspondent Tereza Khayutsina: "Lukashenka: 'We Have To Work Directly With Oil Extractors in Siberia'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A working visit by Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka to Novapolatsk, which was connected with the resolution of the problem of the existence of the state's oil sector, ended on 22 February in a meeting with the staff of the "Naftan" production amalgamation and with the city's residents.

"Naftan", which was Belarusia's first oil refinery, has become one of the largest in Europe after over 30 years of operation. It was built by workers from many republics of the former Soviet Union. Thanks to their common efforts, the amalgamation has reached a capacity of processing 24 million tonnes of oil annually.

However, due to the absence of raw materials, as well an insufficient market for its production, only 33 percent of "Naftan's" capacity is being utilized. This has a negative impact not only on the oil-chemical sphere, but also on other sectors of the national economy.

To breathe some life into it we have to urgently change the situation, said Alyaksandr Lukashenka at a meeting with residents of Novapolatsk held in the "Naftavik" Palace of Culture. Today, we have to think about our future.

Experts see the resolution of this problem in the considerable increase of oil deliveries to Belarus in the immediate future and in organizing intensive processing of oil. The resolution of these problems was discussed at the session held by the president on the same day [22 February] with the participation of the concerns' managers, ministries' and departments' leaders, and representatives of the Russian "Lukoil" and "Yukos" companies.

At the meeting, Alyaksandr Lukashenka underscored that it is necessary to work directly with those who extract oil in Siberia, avoiding the chain of mediators. If we do not achieve this, tomorrow "Naftan" will not even process the amount of raw materials it processes today.

During the speech, in which the state leader presented a concept of performing the outlined tasks, he pointed out the need to establish a joint complex for intensive processing of oil which would allow increasing the production of white products, which, in turn, would meet the demands of the world market and make those products competitive.

A. Lukashenka underscored that this is possible if we create two joint enterprises, the founders of which would be the "Lukoil" and "Yukos" companies, on the part of Russia, and the "Belnaftoprodukt" concern and "Naftan" amalgamation on the part of Belarus.

According to the agreement, it is envisaged to acquire funds for their establishment from incomes of the deliveries of Russian oil to Belarus and its processing, as well as from foreign credits. For the implementation of this project, the Belarusian Government plans to provide a number of tax breaks directed at the financing of the construction; this would be the Belarusian side's contribution to the project. As it was pointed out at the meeting, this project will not only allow oil refineries to make profits, but will also provide a spurt for the national economy.

Belarus: Defense Minister Discusses 'Accomplishments,' Plans

WS2602153996 Minsk SEM DNEY in Russian 24 Feb 96 p 5

[Interview with General Lieutenant Leanid Maltsaw, Belarusian defense minister, by Uladzimir Rudenka; place and date not given: "I Believe in an Army Which Is Professionally Mature and Morally Pure"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have quite a lot of holidays nowadays, which — according to a certain poet — are various and good. It is not easy to remember which is which. However, 23 February is a special day. It was special and it is wonderful that it remains special. Despite the fact that its name is somewhat different now, the essence is the same. We pay tribute to servicemen on that day — gray-haired veterans of wars and of the Armed Forces and to their young followers, all those who are in the ranks of the Army to guarantee our motherland's security. On this outstanding occasion we offer you an interview with Lieutenant General Leanid Maltsaw, Belarusian defense minister.

[Rudenka] Leanid Syamyonavich, it has been somewhat inappropriate to speak about accomplishments in recent times, which have been hard and complex for our state and people. Rather, we have complained about hardships. Meanwhile, in those areas where people work with initiative and self-sacrifice, changes for the better are evident and their number is increasing. The Army, too, is alive and well despite the multitude of various problems.

[Maltsaw] The following proverb would be appropriate here: "No pain, no gain." I could cite philosophers and

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classical authors, for instance, Leonardo da Vinci: "Any obstacle can be crushed by persistence." Meanwhile, Ludwig van Beethoven said: "For a person with talent and love of labor, obstacles do not exist." As we see it, the essence is simple: One should not be idle; people should work, seek, and create — each in his own place, and results will show without delay. The Army, indeed, is living through a very complex period. We inherited a huge Army. To put it in order we had to undertake measures, including unpopular ones. I mean numerical reductions and organizational and personnel changes of former massive military structures. The Army has its hardest times behind it, although reform continues. We will not avoid further reductions, for we must reduce the number of servicemen to 60,000. However, I would like to underscore that this is a matter of more than one day or one year, and thus, our officers do not have grounds for excessive anxiety.

As for positive aspects, they do exist and cannot but evoke joy. Let me name at least some of them. Crime in the Armed Forces decreased by 28 percent in 1995; the territorial and contractual principles of manning the troops were further developed. New approaches toward the draft have been introduced; the Military Academy has been opened; mobile forces have been established. All those projects and many others were implemented as a result of strenuous and resourceful work of many military specialists. You know, there is a saying among the military: "Those who want to carry out a task look for ways and means to do so; those who do not want to look for reasons to justify their inactivity." I am pleased that those who advocate the former approach constitute a majority in our Armed Forces. I recently visited a motorized brigade under Major General Hurulew's command. The training process is well- organized in the unit; the barracks are clean and comfortable — a treat for the eye and a nice place to take a rest. Was it easy for the commander to organize servicemen's everyday lives, when the financial deficit is a heavy burden and there are shortages of everything? However, the commander seeks and thinks; he really cares about his subordinates.

[Rudenka] Incidentally, you came to the brigade without notice.

[Maltsaw] Well, those who are entitled to know, knew (General Maltsaw smiled — ed.) where the defense minister was. Indeed, I had not notified the military units about my visits. I wanted to see how things look when nobody anticipates high-level visitors.

[Rudenka] Leanid Syamyonavich, changes for the better are plain to see in the Army. Is this not a coincidence? Perhaps, as time goes by, discipline will plummet?

[Maltsaw] I would like to knock on wood. But seriously, the new transformations conducted in the Army facilitate the strengthening of discipline. A territorial draft, when soldiers serve as close to their homes as possible, helps soldiers' relatives and commanders to interact, communicate, and talk openly about military service. In addition, the best servicemen are granted official leave on weekends, and there are other forms and methods of demonstrating that it is disadvantageous from every perspective to be a bad soldier. In this way, we develop conscientious discipline in the Army, instead of exercising discipline by force. For instance, crime was reduced by 28 percent in 1995. Of course, frankly speaking, it will be very hard to constantly improve this indicator, but our task is to solidify the positive trend...

[Rudenka] ...and change trends wherever necessary. I mean the results of an inspection conducted by the Control Chamber. Judging by these results, unreasonable expenditures had occurred in the Defense Ministry. The disclosed facts were rather old and certain commanders who were guilty of incompetence have been dismissed. However, will anybody be punished?

[Maltsaw] Of course, if those violations fall under are criminal or administrative responsibility. I have always advocated inevitability of punishment. However, there is also presumption of innocence. The final say rests with law enforcement bodies.

[Rudenka] Meanwhile, law enforcement bodies institute more and more criminal proceedings.

[Maltsaw] This happens because the Defense Ministry and the Military Prosecutor's Office have begun to go hand in hand, cleansing the Army of corruption, unscrupulousness, and embezzlements. I will say more: Not only those will be expelled from the Army's ranks who violate discipline, but also those who do not know how to work with initiative and to produce results. We do not need lumber. We need a professional Army. It can be created by conscientious and well-trained officers, warrant officers, and contract servicemen. There are more than 10,000 contractors in the Army, and in some units there are 12 applications for every opening. Of course, we must think about trained reserves, too, and hence, we are going to retain active service, which may be reduced to 12 months.

[Rudenka] It has been extended to 24 months in Russia, and we are going to do the contrary.

[Maltsaw] Why not, provided that we have such an opportunity, or rather, provided that we have created such an opportunity. The Armed Forces are currently fully manned with personnel. To train the reserves (which is the aim of active service) a shorter period

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of time will be sufficient. Why keep servicemen in the Army and spend tremendous state funds? Let them go to the reserves, this is also military service, albeit in a somewhat different form. No, we are not going to extend military service. As for reducing it, yes, we have this opportunity, which is advantageous both to the state and to young people. It would be a sin to miss it. The Defense Ministry has already drafted a new bill which takes into account all the nuances of modern approaches.

[Rudenka] At one point, students were anxious because there were rumors that they, too, will be made to wear jackboots.

[Maltsaw] First, jackboots are of great help in tough conditions of military service, especially at test ranges. Certain changes and improvements should be made in military uniforms to make them both comfortable and nice.

Second, according to our plans, the students of those institutions of higher education which do not have military chairs will have their military service reduced to six months (as we know, they currently serve for 12 months). Of course, the Supreme Soviet should pass a corresponding law.

Now about the students of those institutions which have military chairs. -We finance a staff of professors and modern educational and material facilities, but only one group of students — draftees — receive military training. Is this economical? Meanwhile, other students are later granted all kinds of deferments, including for personal circumstances, and thus, do not acquire training in any military professions. Therefore, we are thinking about how to improve the situation in this field. At the beginning, all student-draftees would be trained at military departments and would receive training at the level of junior specialists. After passing tests, they would receive appropriate certificates and the rank of sergeants. After graduation they would serve, for instance, for three months. Those who would fail to pass tests would serve for six months. The best among sergeants would continue training at military departments and would receive the ranks of officers after graduation. A specially established commission currently analyzes proposals on how to improve the training of specialists at military departments. Thus, we are not going to make anybody wear jackboots or other boots. The Army simply does not need that.

[Rudenka] The Army needs a national program of preparing the young people for military service.

[Maltsaw] I would like to specify: The state needs that, rather than the Army, because the protection of the motherland is a constitutional duty of citizens. Instead of a program of preparing young people for military service, we need a program of patriotic upbringing of the young generation and of the entire nation in the spirit of love for motherland, and conscientious readiness to protect our state skillfully and courageously if such need arises.

[Rudenka] This program would undoubtedly be useful in terms of turning young people into citizens. However, the Army, too, should be attractive for young people. Only then will there be no opinion among them that the Army is a good school, but it is better to complete it through correspondence courses.

[Maltsaw] I agree. The Army's attractiveness depends on its orderliness and on the skill of organizing interesting classes in martial arts, physical training, driving of combat vehicles, or shooting. I categorically oppose the meticulous removal of every inch of snow from the territory of military units, when personnel are taken away from planned training. Naturally, roads are to be kept clean, but nobody needs excessive cleanliness and show-offs. Therefore, despite financial hardships, troop commanders place an emphasis on professional training, and they are right. I would like to add one point about the attractiveness of the Army. I receive many letters from both parents and young people under 18 years of age. The requests are the same: Take him (or take me) to the Army. It is clear that material considerations play a role, but I believe that many people currently have a conscientious desire to serve in the Army. The main thing is that there is trust in the Army which, in turn, has been achieved by positive changes in the Armed Forces.

[Rudenka] The attractiveness of the Army and of military service includes state care about servicemen after their transfer to the reserves. I happened to hear that after returning home certain servicemen could not get their former jobs. They were simply brushed off under the pretext that enterprises had been closed down or reduced.

[Maltsaw] Those managers and personnel officers who do so violate the law. In such situations military commissariats should render assistance to former servicemen. In general, this is an abnormal situation. A young man honestly carries out his service and performs his duty, but instead of gratitude he meets with refusal to reemploy him at his former job. Therefore, it would be appropriate to improve legislation in this area, too. Military service is a special kind of state service and thus, there should be special care for people in military uniform. [passage omitted]

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Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan: Nazarbayev Briefed on Baykonur Status, Problems

MM2602151096 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by Anatoliy Ladin: "Baykonur Will Have Work. A Lot and for a Long Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Almaty — Kazakhstani President Nursultan Nazarbayev has met with Yuriy Semenov, general designer and general director of the "Energiya" Science and Production Association, and Lieutenant General Aleksey Shumilin, chief of Baykonur Space Center.

Semenov briefed the Kazakhstani president on the progress in implementing the Russian-U.S. program based on the "Mir" orbital complex. In addition Nazarbayev inquired about the Kazakhstani-Russian interstate company's activity and the Baykonur Space Center's current problems.

The president was informed that many of Baykonur's facilities require substantial modernization in connection with the work that has been undertaken to implement the Russian-U.S. project. Naturally, considerable resources will be needed for this. Semenov and Shumilin proposed to Nazarbayev specific money-raising measures which utilize the potential of the space center itself.

In an exclusive interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Shumilin noted that the space center's Leasing Treaty and the agreements signed on its basis open up broad scope. In this context it would be advisable to grant Baykonur the status of a federal space center and ensure that it is a separate, protected Russian budget-funded item, these resources being distributed centrally. According to him the Leasing Treaty would make it possible to improve the situation at this space port considerably. Shumilin is worried by the problem of repairing and replacing worn-out equipment and putting the servicing areas and launch complexes in order.

While recognizing the difficult situation in which the space center now finds itself, Semenov stressed that, besides the Leasing Treaty, the Russian-U.S. space project opens up great prospects for Baykonur. Numerous launches will be made from here with the aim of maintaining the new international space station. So there will be a lot of work and it will last a long time.

Tajikistan

Tajikistan: Kidnapping Seen as Possible 'Provocation'

MM2702143696 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Feb 96 p 3

[Report by Nail Gafutulin: "A Carefully Calculated Provocation? Those Involved in the Kidnapping of Zafar Rakhmonov May Achieve Their Goal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dushanbe — In the afternoon of 24 February in downtown Dushanbe Zafar Rakhmonov, cochairman of the Joint [as published] Commission for Implementation of the Agreement on a Temporary Cease-Fire and Other Hostilities, was kidnapped by persons unknown. It has emerged that, on Saturday, four men in military dress uniform and masks pounced on Zafar Rakhmonov as he came out of a store. After a short scuffle they fled, with the kidnap victim, in a car that was waiting not far off. The law-enforcement agencies have not yet managed to find the criminals.

Kidnappings and thefts have become routine for Tajikistan recently. However, this crime has unequivocal political overtones.

Particular attention should be devoted to the timing of the crime. On 26 February the Agreement on a Temporary Cease-Fire and Other Hostilities expired, and it has not yet been extended. The parties to the inter-Tajik talks in Ashgabat decided to review this question after the convocation of a special session of the Supreme Council (the Tajik parliament) to which it is planned to invite the leadership of the unified Tajik opposition, the UN secretary general's special envoy, and representatives of the states and international organizations that are observers at the inter-Tajik talks. The government of Tajikistan has pledged to the United Nations to provide a full guarantee of security to the opposition delegation.

After the kidnapping of Zafar Rakhmonov not only the special session of the Supreme Council but also the cease-fire agreement are in jeopardy. The opposition leaders are hardly likely now to risk coming to Dushanbe, where government structures were unable to ensure the safety of the cochairman of the Conciliation Commission. Incidentally, the other four members of the Conciliation Commission spent the weekend in hiding from possible provocations at the capital's internal affairs administration, in the Iraqi Embassy, and in the UN mission building. They returned to the fulfillment of their duties only after the restoration of their personal guard.

The speculation in Dushanbe now is, who kidnapped Zafar Rakhmonov and what are the objectives pursued

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by those involved in this crime? All kinds of different possibilities are put forward. Including a staged kidnapping, and the interference of third parties with no interest in a peaceful settlement of the inter-Tajik problem. The official government assessed Saturday's episode as a foul crime aimed at wrecking the mutual understanding that has recently emerged between the sides. The republic's law-enforcement agencies have been given strict instructions to find the criminals and free the kidnapped man.

However, if you analyze the course of the inter-Tajik talks and the situation in the republic, something of this kind was bound to happen. And it is quite possible that those who ordered the kidnapping of Zafar Rakhmonov, cochairman of the Conciliation Commission, will achieve their goal — relations between the official government and the Tajik opposition will deteriorate still further.

Tajikistan: Rebel Chief Threatens Action Over Kidnapping

LD2802102496 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan, in Tajik 0300 GMT 28 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The kidnapping by the regime's armed men of Haji Muzaffar Rahmoni [Zafar Rahmonov], the head of the delegation of the United Opposition Forces of Tajikistan in the joint cease-fire observation commission, has caused a resolute protest among the Tajik mujaheddin and refugees.

Yesterday, commander of the groups of the army of the Islamic Movement of Tajikistan in Tavildara, Mirzo Ziyo, sent an address about this to the office of Radio Voice of Free Tajikistan. Here is a summary of it:

If the head of the opposition delegation in the cease-fire observation commission, Haji Muzaffar Rahmoni [Muzaffar Rahmonov], is not released within three days, and persecution by the regime's paramilitaries of the other members of this delegation does not stop, the mujaheddin of the army of the Islamic Movement of Tajikistan will launch military operations and use all opportunities. Then, no one but God will be able to stop them, says the address by the mujaheddin of the Islamic Movement of Tajikistan from Tavildara.

Radio Voice of Free Tajikistan has received protest letters like this from commanders Abdulhakim Foteh, Fozil, Sallamshoh Muhabbat [Muhabbatov], Majnun Palla [Pallayev], Murzokhuja Nizom, Muhammad Ruzi, Mullo Qosimjon, Mullo Abdullo and other commanders of the army of the Islamic Movement of Tajikistan.

Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan: Iranians To Build Turkmen Section of Fiber-Optic Line

LD2402182796 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1137 GMT 24 Feb 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Kurbanova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ashgabat, 24 Feb — The state-run Turkmentelekom company and Iran's telecommunications company have signed a contract for the construction of the Turkmen sector of the Trans-Asia-Europe fiber-optic communications line (TAE). A delegation of Iranian specialists is in Turkmenistan to examine the route for the line, details of the project, and the condition of an existing radio-relay line.

The Iranian Telecommunications Company will deliver the line on turnkey terms in March 1997, which is when tests will begin on the entire line from Shanghai to Frankfurt-am-Main.

Fourteen countries are involved in laying the line, and their national sectors will result in a fundamentally new quality of international communications. The Turkmen sector will stretch 711 km from the border with Uzbekistan via Sardzhev, Mary, and Ashgabat to Badzhigiran, on the border with Iran.

The contract is worth $21.7 million. Loan finance has been provided by the Islamic Development Bank for seven years at 7.3 percent a year. One of the conditions of the contract is a 15-percent downpayment by the client, and Turkmenistan will also pay taxes, customs duties, consultancy fees, and transport costs. Under the project, the construction of the fiber-optic line will be accompanied by reconstruction of an existing radio-relay line as a backup system for the TAE.

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Armenia

Armenia: Ministry Sees No Progress at Helsinki Talks

NC2702211996 Yerevan SNARK in English 1239 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan, February 27 (SNARK)—The Press Office of the Armenian Foreign Affairs Ministry issued today a statement saying that the regular round of the Karabakh talks concluded recently in Helsinki has not resulted in considerable changes of the conflicting parties' positions.

The Co-Chairmen and OSCE Minsk group country members expressed concern about slight moves in the negotiation process giving at the same time positive assessments of the last nine rounds of talks and welcoming the truce since May of 1994. Some members of the Minsk group vocalized the comparison of two approaches to the settlement, i.e. comprehensive and step-by-step, in order to reach more efficiency.

Minsk group member countries call upon the Karabakh and Azeri leaders to release all the hostages and prisoners before the 2nd anniversary of the armistice in the conflict zone.

It is expected the above mentioned matters would be discussed during the visit of the OSCE Acting Chairman Flavio Cotti and the Chairmen of the Minsk conference on Nagorno-Karabakh to the region due from February 28 to March 2, says the statement.

Armenia: Karabakh Reiterates Stance on POW's

NC2702170396 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1239 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan, February 26 (NOYAN TAPAN)— Agence France Presse [AFP] spread Saturday [24 February] an information alleging that the OSCE Minsk group's representatives "condemned Karabakh leadership for refusal to release 64 Azeri prisoners of war" at a recent round of negotiations held in Helsinki. According to AFP, participants of the negotiations once again stressed the necessity of ensuring by all conflicting sides ICRC representatives' free access to POWs.

Karabakh representation in Armenia did not confirm the information.

According to Karabakh's Representative to Armenia Aleksandr Harutyunyan, participants of the negotiations did discuss the problem of POWs, however, in some other context. Members of the nine countries-members of the Minsk group issued an official appeal to release POWs being held by the conflicting parties.

Mr. Harutyunyan said that Karabakh Republic abides by all agreements, including the one on free access to POWs sealed with ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross]. Aleksandr Aghasaryan, Chairman of the Karabakh Commission on POWs, confirmed Harutyunyan's words, saying that ICRC representatives as well as other international organizations have never faced impediments in their visitations of POWs held in Karabakh.

As to the release of prisoners of war, for the passed time the Karabakh side has unilaterally released over 20 Azeris, according to Aghasarian. However, Azerbaijan has not released a single POW in return as well as expressed no willingness to negotiate this problem. This is the very reason why the Karabakh side suspended the process of POWs release.

Currently Azerbaijan holds 28 Armenian POWs. The Karabakh authorities consider them POWs, however, according to Azeri side's allegations, 24 of them are criminals, serving their prison terms.

Armenia freed last Azeri POWs in May 1995.

Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan: Aliyev Receives U.S. Envoy

NC2702163696 Baku TURAN in English 1239 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/26.02.96/TURAN—Today president Geydar Aliyev received a special representative of the US State Department in the OSCE Minsk Group for the Karabakh conflict. Greeting the guest Geydar Aliyev expressed a hope that "there will be some progress in the negotiation process," present trip of Mr. Presel to Armenian and Azerbaijan "provides new proposals for the settlement of the conflict."

Joseph Presel said "the government of the US considers that some progress in felt in the settlement of the Armenian-Azeri conflict." We consider that it is time to obtain peaceful resolution. I was instructed to inform you that the US government is ready to make its contribution to case of settlement and the president Bill Clinton himself is personally interested in the resolution of the Armenian-Azeri conflict," Mr. Presel said.

American diplomat reminded that on the eve he was in Yerevan and met there "with the leadership of Armenia and Karabakh."

"I am convinced that President Ter-Petrosyan is going to make steps towards peace," Presel said. He also noted that he had had a long talk with Robert Kocharyan, the leader of the Armenians of Karabakh. "This meeting

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convinced me that the will of the parties to make a peace is not so strong," the American diplomat noted.

"We consider that the coming months will be decisive in case of obtaining of peace. We take into account the fact of conduction of presidential elections in some countries," Presel noted. He added, that in May and April this year the Russian-American summit meetings will take place where the subject of the Armenian-Azeri conflict will also be brought up.

Mr. Presel said that the countries-mediators cannot resolve this problem instead of the participants of the conflict. "I hope that all parties are ready to take now the most difficult steps. I am aware about readiness of Azerbaijan to take steps for obtaining peace and I hope the leadership of Armenia shares this readiness. I hope also that Kocharian will also take steps towards peace," Mr. Presel said. He warned that if there is not a serious progress in the peaceful settlement in April, that will negatively affect the whole region and the peace will be pushed back by a year or two.

Geydar Aliyev expressed satisfaction with the information by Presel and noted that he felt in Presel's words "some new ideas which inspire an optimism." Aliyev also said "the US have great opportunities and may use influence in case of obtaining of peace." "Azerbaijan is ready to compromise, but the opposite side must be ready to such steps too," Aliyev said.

Then the meeting was held behind the closed doors.

Azerbaijan: Mamedov, U.S. Envoy Discussion of Azerbaijan

NC2702170596 Baku TURAN in English
1239 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, 27 Feb, TURAN — Today there was the meeting between the chairman of the National Independence party, Etibar Mamedov, and the U.S. representative in the OSCE Minsk Group, Joseph Presel.

The issue concerning settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict has been discussed during the meeting. Etibar Mamedov told Turan that under the plan submitted by Mr. Presel, the Armenian troops liberate occupied territories of Azerbaijan, except for Lachin, which will remain the corridor and will be controlled by Armenians. Moreover, Azerbaijan agrees with stay of Armenian armed troops on the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

According to the same plan, Armenians receive the right to come back to Azerbaijan, in particular, in Baku, while Azeris have the right to return neither to Armenia, nor to Nagorno-Karabakh.

Etibar Mamedov said that "this plan is an ultimatum and it cannot be adopted, it is a capitulation", Etibar Mamedov said.

Azerbaijan: U.S. Envoy Comments on Settlement Plan

NC2702211296 Baku TURAN in English
1239 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/27.02.96/TURAN— Press-conference of Josef Presel, the representative of the US State Department at the talks for Karabakh problem in the OSCE Minsk group took place today. "The talks in Baku were very useful. The governments of Armenia and Azerbaijan understand the importance of the present moment for obtaining peace," he said. Presel noted that second anniversary of signing cease-fire regime will be soon but the sides "have done nothing for support of the truce, though nobody wants resume of war," he said.

The US diplomat refused to comment on the essence of the negotiations in Baku and Yerevan and refused also to answer concrete questions concerning the future fate of Lachin and Shusha. He did not answer the question on reaction of Armenian to proposal of Baku on giving autonomy to Nagorno-Karabakh. Presel grounded his refusal by the fact "detailed information may cause damage to the settlement."

According to the US diplomat, the US can do nothing instead of the participants to the conflict. "The sides must themselves come to agreement," Presel said. He did not answer the question asked by TURAN correspondent on availability of the American plan of the settlement of the conflict. According to Etibar Mamedov, the leader of the party of National Independence of Azerbaijan, Presel told about this plan at today's meeting with the leaders of opposition. The mentioned plan provides liberation of the occupied territories of Azerbaijan except Lachin and Shusha, maintenance of armed forces in Nagorno-Karabakh, return of the Armenian refugees to Azerbaijan. However, the return of Azeri refugees to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh is not provided. Responding the question if such plan can bring long-term peace to Azerbaijan and Armenia Presel said: "If the sides do not like this plan they can decline it."

The diplomat did not answered the question how he sees the future settlement of the conflict and what concrete steps should be made by the sides towards each other.

Presel said that next session of the OSCE Minsk group in which he will take part will start in Vienna in some days.

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Azerbaijan: Decision Still Pending on Turkish Pipeline Proposal

NC2702211596 Baku TURAN in English 1239 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/27.02.96/TURAN—The Turkish variant of financing of construction and reconstruction of oil pipeline Baku-Supsa was actually rejected by the AIOC [Azerbaijani International Operating Company] administration during Baku's meeting among four sides from February 22 to 23, 1996, the reliable sources told TURAN.

As was earlier reported recently there has been another round of negotiations among the representatives of Azerbaijan's International Operation Company (AIOC), State Oil Company of Azerbaijan Republic (SOCAR), Georgia's International Oil Corporation (GIOC) and the Turkish Government. During the negotiations the sides have discussed the issues related to financing of western oil pipeline string for shipment of early oil from the Azeri section of the Caspian through Georgia.

The meeting among four sides has been completed, but there is still no official information about its results. The press-secretary of the Turkish Government, Bilsel Alisipakh [name as received], who attended the meeting, told correspondent of "AVRASIYA" newspaper before his departure from Baku that the meeting brought no results and "this fact has placed Turkey in a very complicated situation".

The Western sources told TURAN that during the session of the leading Committee of the AIOC in London February 19, 1996 the preference was given to the Turkish variant of financing of the project. However, in several days the situation in Baku changed. The Turkish media reported the reasons for that were the conditions of the Turkish Government: to limit amount of oil shipped through the western route to 6 million tons per year and then ship the Azeri oil to the port of Ceyhan on the coast of Mediterranean Sea.

The fact that on the second day of negotiations the Ambassador of Georgia in Azerbaijan, President of Georgia's State International Oil Corporation, Georgi Chanturia, has left Baku for Tbilisi, also testifies to tense situation during the negotiations.

The observers believe that today economic hopes of Georgia has faced political realities and interests of big powers, which decide the fate of newly independent states.

Yesterday BBC radio station reported that implementation of the contract of century will be delayed, since the project is of pure political character.

The observers in Baku think that having forwarded at first the issue on shipment of oil through the northern route, the West intends to strengthen Boris Yeltsin's position at the forthcoming Presidential elections and Azerbaijan will receive its political dividends from Moscow.

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Latvia

Latvia: Prime Minister Delivers State of Nation Address

LD2802104896 Riga DIENA in Latvian 23 Feb 96 p 2

["I Hope Life Will Improve During My Government — Prime Minister Andris Skele's speech on Latvian Television on 22 February"—DIENA headline; under the "Commentary and Opinion" rubric]

[FBIS Translated Text] Almost two months ago, I promised that the government would prepare a report on the state of the nation. The task turned out to be more difficult than one could have imagined at the outset. No clear principles exist in this country for an integrated assessment of the state of the nation and the work of state power. Many figures that we wanted to obtain turned out to be inaccurate, the methods for calculating them being inadequate and dubious. It had to be admitted that on many, to my mind, essential, points there were no figures at all. The task might perhaps have been easier if it were welfare that had to be measured — but how does one measure destruction, how does one measure poverty, insecurity, and lack of confidence?

Recently, I have often had to listen to questions as to whether the state of the nation really is as bad as I say it is — whether the country really can be compared to a bankrupt enterprise, or whether I am exaggerating. In recent times, we have spoken a lot about the budget deficit, which this year is expected to be almost 60 million lats, but the deficit only describes the actual excess of expenditures over income. It is a folk saying that a debt is not a brother and that he who does not settle debts in the old year will not get away from them all the next year. For several years now, Latvia has not only been unable to escape its old debts, but is sinking ever deeper into a mire of debt. The debts are mounting up and at the end of 1995, the total national debt was just under 380 million lats, which has become the basis for this year's debt — 538 million lats. That is more than a fifth of the anticipated gross national product. That is just about $1 billion. Listen closely: the total state debt is $1 billion!!! The situation in the national economy may be compared with changeable windless weather. Instability, indefiniteness, and disarray are the realities of the Latvian economy today. The gross domestic product fell last year by 0.35 percent. In 1996, it is predicted to grow by half a percentage point. The average long-term interest rate in 1995 was 27.4 percent. These figures fully characterize the stagnation that prevails in the Latvian national economy. If it continues and we fail to achieve a turning-point in the country's economic development, by the end of 1997, we will be thrown back into such backwardness that there will be few countries in the world so poor as to be compared with us. This is the price our society will have to pay for the mistakes of its authorities and their own inability to be wise with their country's housekeeping. The government I lead has begun its work in circumstances where we are dangerously close to such a possibility. With my report, I do not, however, want to frighten anyone or start a witch-hunt — it should be taken as a statement of the situation and at the same time, as a document setting out the aims of the government's work. On the other hand, I want to introduce a new and, to my mind, very necessary practice into the work of state power. I hope that my example will be followed later by future prime ministers, and the people will always be aware of the true situation and the changes in it. Along with the government declaration, the report, the full text of which will be made available next week, must become a point of reference, both for the work of individual state institutions and for the work of the state executive organs as a whole. The government's strong determination to bring about a turning-point in the country's development will require taking many unpopular decisions, but in these circumstances, I regard it as my duty as a citizen and as the head of the government. The fact that I am not in any party, the fact that I am not preparing for the next elections, frees me from the need for cheap populism. It has allowed me to include in this report not those points that would be most comfortable for the government, or those where bringing about positive changes would be simplest, for example, by printing or borrowing money, but those that really seem essential to me. I will not permit, in the name of political interests, yet more robbery of the people with inflation or money-printing. In our report, we have striven to the utmost to include those indicators for which it would be difficult to achieve a formal improvement without solving the problems of the national economy constructively and pragmatically. The criteria that are incorporated in the report are various, and include what at first seem narrow specifics, such as the number of passengers at Riga airport or the length of long-distance calls. This kind of criterion is important, first, because it is precise and not subject to artificial alteration like many others; second, because it indicates the activity of the Latvian population, how active are Latvia's contacts with the outside world, what are the interests of foreign tourists and businesses in Latvia. If there are positive changes to these indicators, it will mean that the government has improved the environment for economic development, has increased the opportunities for Latvian businesses and residents, and therefore increased the standard of

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living. At the same time, it is important to remember that every parameter summarized in the report is not in itself characteristic of the general state of the country. We have chosen those criteria that in our opinion are indicative of what is most essential, regardless of the fact that in many cases, we have no figures so far.

So far, we are unclear as to what part the shadow economy plays, or even such a fundamental quantity as the volume produced by the private sector in the gross domestic product. However we can estimate that self-produced food, such as meat and grain, makes up less than 70 per cent of total consumption. We can say that our country's balance of foreign trade is negative. Imports exceed exports by 235 million lats. This indicator will continue to be negative, but it is important to know in detail the structure of this shortfall - what is the proportion of consumer goods to manufacturing materials in it. At the same time the country's foreign currency reserves are stable, which proves that the negative trade balance is compensated by other factors harder to estimate. For example the export of services, capital investment and banking operations. Especially important for the new government are indices relating to the progress of privatization. In 1995, 275 state enterprises were privatized, and at the end of 1995 another 450 enterprises were in process of privatization. The government has already begun working energetically on speeding up the privatization process and other strategic issues which are anticipated to solve many painful socioeconomic problems during the mandate of this government.

I do not promise rapid improvements; quite the contrary — in the near future, there will be none, but if I am allowed to work and fulfill the aims set out in the government declaration, then by the end of 1997, we will be able to speak of positive changes and an upturn. That is the prospect toward which the government is working. Nevertheless, at this moment, I wish to stress once more that what the government achieves depends to a great extent on the support and confidence of the public. If the public works against the state and the state against the public, it is not possible to ensure the country's development. Many state officials and people working in state administration will definitely have to change their attitude to their work as well. In my report, I wish to include a point about the effectiveness of bureaucracy. Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain figures on this, but every one of us sometimes comes up against an impolite, thoughtless, and often selfish state official. We know how many good ideas have been altered beyond recognition once the cogwheels of bureaucracy have begun to turn. It has even happened to me as prime minister that the work of senior state officials has had to be done twice over.

I want to say to everyone that I do not intend to repeat simple things twice; I will not be travelling around with a long cavalcade to look at distinguished guests in honor of whitewashed snow in winter and green-painted grass in summer.

It is important for me to know the real situation, not to listen to dressed-up estimates of objective difficulties. I call upon you, before you turn to the state with criticisms and demands, first to turn to yourself and ask: Do I support the state, do I pay my taxes and observe the law? Nonpayment of taxes and smuggling are not just a problem for state revenue and the government's awareness — they are also dishonest competition, in which honest businesspeople have to suffer.

The government is striving to bring order to the State Revenue Service and increase its repressive powers, but this also requires the honesty, wisdom, and moral support of the citizens. We must understand that this is our country and its welfare is necessary to us; if we do not care about it, then no one will.

One more criterion which must be worked out during this year is the self-organization of society. This is one of the most fundamental indices, which describes the extent to which the society in which we live differs from the crowd. The ability of the public to organize itself was one of the first things destroyed by the previous 50-year regime, because only a separate individual can be controlled, subjected, and intimidated. Our task is to achieve a restoration of those mechanisms. Last year, there were 555 pensioners for every 1000 employees in the country, and the average old-age pension was only 32.6 lats per month. Yes, we are sinking into poverty. Yes, with even the best predictions of development, it will not get any easier for some time; and that is the very reason why we must be doubly strong.

We have to work to be strong enough to be able to support our parents and grandparents, who through the ages have preserved what is most valuable in our nation — the idea of a rich and free Latvian state. I want to call on the citizens of our nation to start with themselves, to care for the welfare and health of themselves and their loved ones, to start with the victory over their own vices and weaknesses. The life expectancy of men has declined dramatically over the past five years, while the figures have quadrupled for such factors as alcoholic poisoning and chronic alcoholism as causes of fatal accidents and mental illnesses. We must understand that no government can help those who drink and smoke away their families' savings and what is most precious — their health. It must be understood that no government, not even the best, can look after your children. No government will

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bring happiness and stability to your families, or give love to your children. I understand that many of the misfortunes I have mentioned arise from hopelessness and difficult social conditions, but it is in just these conditions that we must be strong, must show our strength of will and our virtue. A nation which loses its heart at the first difficulty, sinks into a hopeless condition and starts drinking, would hardly manage to scramble out of its difficulties. Today,you have a chance to strengthen your families with private property and start caring about the well-being that will be the basis of your children's education. I hope to bring it about that during my government, people will start to earn more, the country will become richer, and the prestige of the state authority will gradually rise in the people's eyes. Two months ago, I took up this challenge. In a year, at about this time, I shall come before you again with a report about the state of the nation, and I hope that my work will have given you a certain amount of optimism.

Latvia: Ulmanis Responds to Allegations of Minority Maltreatment

LD2802002796 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] State President Guntis Ulmanis today responded by letter to the appeal published by 14 well-known cultural figures alleging the non-observance of the rights of minority nationalities in Latvia. Correspondent Arnis Krauze has examined the president's response to the publicists:

[Krauze] Right at the beginning of his reply, the State President writes that in official state policy, no violations of human rights by Latvia have been noted internationally, including the non-observance of the rights of representatives of any nationality. The authors of the letter wrote to the president that political education in Latvia is given programmatically in the native language. In this regard, the President recalled that at present in Latvia 30 national minorities have their own schools and classes. According to law, state schools in Latvia provide education in Latvian as well as Russian, Polish, Hebrew, Estonian, Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian. The president noted that all over the world, states finance minority schools. A representative of the 14 intellectuals had claimed that higher education in Russia is not provided. The president recalled that this year, a sixth of the new students is being taught in Russian, as well as having additional teaching in Latvian (?in most cases), which they are able to choose freely, and (?none of those questioned has claimed) discrimination. Higher education, in France, or America, or Sweden, is given in the state language, and we are no exception to that, writes Guntis Ulmanis. It should be said that since taking on the post of State President, I have devoted special attention to national harmony, (?to extending) the tradition of civilized coexistence among the many nationalities in our society; meanwhile I would point out that I am president of Latvia, not of the Latvians. [end Krauze]

Let me recall that the appeal to the president was signed by Viktors Avotins, Marina Kostenecka, Vladilens Dozorcevs, Ludmila Azarova and other public figures representing (?the Latvian intelligentsia).

Latvia: Russian-Latvian Agreement Signed on Border Guarding

LD2602195496 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A Latvian-Russian agreement on cooperation in border guarding was signed in St. Petersburg today. The agreement was signed by Leonids Lasmanis, the commander of the Latvian Border guard Forces [name and title as heard], and Andrey Nikolayev, the director of the Russian Federal Border Guard service.

The agreement provides for the exchange of information and experience, operative activities aimed at preventing border violations and smuggling, assistance to each other in extraordinary situations, and other measures.

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